Christopher Heath

The Narrative Worlds of Paul the Deacon

Between Empires and Identities in Lombard Italy

Amsterdam University Press

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For Alice and Drogo

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Pollheimer (eds), *Sermo doctorum*; Shane Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition Between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae;* and E.T. Dailey, *Queens, Consorts, Concubines: Gregory of Tours and Women of the Merovingian Elite.* Such studies continue to add to and deepen our understanding of the narrative worlds of the early medieval West.

Christopher Heath
Levenshulme, November 2015

List of Abbreviations

Capo	L. Capo (ed.), *Paolo Diacono: Storia dei Longobardi* (Vicenza, 1992)
Carucci	A. Carucci (ed.), *Erchemperto: Storia dei Longobardi* (sec. IX) (Salerno, 2003)
Chiesa	P. Chiesa (ed.), *Paolo Diacono: Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio* (Udine, 2000)
CISAM	Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo
Colgrave	B. Colgrave (ed. and trans.), *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby* (Cambridge, 1986)
Crivellucci	A. Crivellucci (ed.), *Pauli Diaconi: Historia Romana* (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia) (Roma, 1914)
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
Foulke	Paul the Deacon: *History of the Lombards*, W.D. Foulke (trans.) (Philadelphia, 1974)
Gauthier	N. Gauthier, *L'évangélisation des pays de la Moselle* (Paris, 1980)
GEM	*Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium*
HEGA	J.F. King (ed. and trans), *Bede: Historical Works: Volume I* (London, 1930)
HL	*Historia Langobardorum*
HR	*Historia Romana*
MGH AA	H. Droysen (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctorum Antiquissimorum Tomus II: Eutropi Breviarum ab Urbe Condita* (Berlin, 1879)
MGH SrL	G. Waitz (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, saec. VI-IX* (Hannover, 1878)
MGH SrM	B. Krusch (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* (Berlin, 1888)
MGH SsRG	F. Kurze (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum* (Hannover, 1895)
Narrators	W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988)
NCMH	*New Cambridge Medieval History*
PLRE	J.R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire: Vol. III 527-641* (Cambridge, 1992)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
VSGM	*Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*

Introduction

In thanking William Dudley Foulke (1848-1935) for his English translation of Paul the Deacon's (*c.* 725-*c.* 796) *Historia Langobardorum*, first published in 1907, the American president, Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) declared: 'What a delightful old boy the Deacon was; and what an interesting mixture of fact and fable he wrote'.[1] Paul's works, of course, can be analysed as more than just an 'interesting mix', but Roosevelt's reaction was testament to the abiding human value of Paul's narratives. In the same way that buildings can be read as 'ensembles of structures, images and performances rather than as isolated plans and elevations', so too the four prose narratives of Paul the Deacon can be considered as a vital window upon the thought and opinions of one of the most significant intellectuals of the Carolingian age.[2] 'Writing is [only] one way of giving shape to the past', but even so, despite the transit of 1200 years it is remarkable how much of Paul's narratives still frame and determine modern versions of early medieval Italian history.[3] This book looks at the narrative structures of Paul the Deacon's principal prose works. It considers the ensemble of structures, images, ideas, and viewpoints together with their apparent ambiguities and contradictions.[4]

Paul's works have often been 'looted' by historians using isolated details to support empirical argument without adequate consideration of the contexts behind either the author or the works themselves. This is similar to the kind of exploitation identified by Heinzelmann and Wallace-Hadrill in respect to Gregory of Tours (538-594) and Bede (672/3-735).[5] The difficulty that links all three of these early medieval writers is that, for modern commentators, much of their narrative histories remain the only extant witness to the events that they describe. Thus, at the outset, this study intends to avoid the extraction of empirical data from the narratives. Instead, it seeks

1 Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p.vii

2 Goodson, *Material Memory*, p. 2. See also Waitz, *MGH SrL*, pp. 12-188. On translating see Gardiner, 'On Translating', pp. 43-51. Among the many Italian editions see Zanella, *Paolo Diacono* and Capo, *Paolo Diacono*. Also, Bougard, *Paul Diacre*.

3 Stock, *Listening for the Text*, p.1.

4 Pohl, *History in Fragments*, p. 343-374, at p. 347, 'ambiguity, paradox and contradictions constitute valuable methodological tools for the analysis of the past'.

5 Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Medieval History*, p. 96 and Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 2. See also Goffart, *Narrators*, p. 381 '... the outcome has been that the *HL* tends to be a mine of material rather than a narrative ...' More generally see Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, pp. 3-4.

to demonstrate the dynamic creative tensions in Paul's works.[6] Attention will be spent on the building blocks of Paul's prose narratives – in other words the foundations of his texts, the security of our versions of his works, and most importantly, his sources and how Paul set about consciously to organise and structure his work to convey meaning and significance. In this way, an emphasis on Paul's activities as a historian will allow us to concentrate on what was written, and what it tells us, rather than who his audience(s) may have been and what they thought or believed to be useful or significant.

The intention then is to bring Paul's narratives to the forefront of analysis. The question that 'runs' throughout this study is that of the text formation. In this respect, we'll consider in detail Paul's use of sources and how he utilised the materials at hand to craft his narratives. This will allow a better understanding of his responses to his subject matters and his development as a writer. Scholarship on Paul the Deacon has used his works as evidence to promote a wide range of ideas about the Lombard past and Paul's ethno-cultural responses to that past. In some respects this scholarship has asked the wrong questions. These questions, in particular, that of for whom Paul wrote the *HL*, remain ultimately unanswerable and have fashioned an inconclusive debate that has turned on the interpretation of selective elements of either Paul's life or works. The date and motivation of Paul's so-called *monacazione* is one important example of this approach, which projects a political significance upon his entry into the monastic community at Montecassino. In a similar way, even Paul's position as a writer remains problematic. Usually connected to earlier writers such as Jordanes (fl. 6th century), Gregory of Tours, and Bede as a composer of 'national' histories of the 'barbarian successor' kingdoms and peoples, Paul can rather be seen as the link between these writers and a subsequent Italian historical tradition that continued after his death with writers such as Andrew of Bergamo (fl. late 9th century), Erchempert of Benevento (fl. 9th century), and Liudprand of Cremona (*c.* 920-972).

Accordingly, Chapter 1 discusses the contexts of Paul's life and works. It commences with issues associated with the end of the Lombard kingdom in 774. This has been seen as a watershed for both the history of Italy and Paul's own life. It then considers recent comment on Paul's responses to the kingdom's fall and his relationships with his Lombard and Frankish patrons. Despite this patronage we shall see that he writes with a degree of

6 Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities*, pp. 1-7 and in particular p. 2 and Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, p. 26.

freedom and creativity that marks all his prose narratives. We shall observe that as Paul develops as a writer, so too does his ability to write to order and to exercise greater freedom in expression and choice in his works. This relationship between the words and the worlds of Paul will be considered at some length for it reveals a writer who was not necessarily motivated by ethnic allegiances alone. The question that arises, in short, is: how did the situation on the ground influence Paul's interests and choices when he set out to compose his narratives? A close analysis of his life will set the contexts for his written works, which are analysed subsequently.

Thereafter, in Chapter 2, his earlier and (generally) shorter narratives are considered in chronological order. At the outset it is not possible to be certain of the compositional dates of the works and thus their relationships to each other. However, the approach here places the *Historia Romana* first, followed by the un-datable *Vita Gregorii Sancti Magni* and concludes with the *Gesta Episcopum Mettensium*. Whilst it is likely that the latter work was completed during Paul's stay in Francia, there are few direct indications of when the previous works were composed. It is nevertheless evident that there is a clear line of development with and between these works. Patronal relationships remain as important and significant motivators.

Subsequently, in Chapters 3 and 4, we will consider the structural organisation of the *Historia Langobardorum* as a whole before we turn to each of the six books and analyse their structures and organisation. The two chapters analyse Paul's use of sources to see to what extent he was an independent writer. It will be evident that in a work of some length and complexity, Paul used a wide range of sources, both oral materials and written texts. Discussion of his source use allows an understanding of how 'bound' Paul was to his material. We shall see a mature author who is able to merge materials and compose lengthy anecdotal treatments at major points and episodes in Lombard history. In the reconstruction of ensembles and images, we shall not only restore how Paul constructed his works, but also re-connect isolated and detached details to promote a more accurate picture of '*Paulus pusillus filius supplex*'.[7]

7 'Paul, your humble son in supplication', *MGH SrL*, p. 16. For Paul's letter to Theodemar from which this quote arises, see Neff, *Die Gedichte*, pp. 69-74.

1 *Vir valde Peritus*: Paul the Deacon and his Contexts

The Downfall

For the year 774 the *Annales Regni Francorum* record:

> *Et revertente domno Carolo rege a Roma et iterum ad Papiam pervenit ipsum civitatem coepit et Desiderium regem cum uxore et filia vel cum omni thesauro eius palatii. Ibique venientes omnes Longobardi de cunctis civitatibus Italiae subdiderunt se in dominio domni gloriosi Caroli regis et Francorum.*
> And returning from Rome, the Lord King Charles came to Pavia again, seized the same city and King Desiderius with his wife and daughter together with all the treasure of his palace. And all the Lombards from all the cities of Italy came there and placed themselves under the power of the glorious lord King Charles and the Franks.[1]

The *Liber Pontificalis*, not known for a positive view of the Lombards, reported that the *ira Dei* (the anger of God) had 'raged and stormed against all the Lombards' and that Charlemagne, the *excellentissimus Francorum rex* (most excellent King of the Franks) 'had subjected the entire kingdom of the Lombards to his power' (*... et suae potestati cunctum regem Langobardorum subiugavit*).[2] The siege of Pavia, within which the final Lombard king Desiderius (r. 757-774) had sheltered, and its surrender marked both the conclusion of Charlemagne's (r. 768-814) campaign in Italy and the end of an independent Lombard kingdom. This kingdom had maintained its survival for over two hundred years despite invasions of Avars, Franks, and Byzantines. Sixteen years later Charlemagne was to mark his hegemony in the West with his imperial coronation, which attached the *regnum Langobardorum* to a revived western Roman Empire that had comprehensively eclipsed Byzantine power in northern and central Italy.

1 Pertz and Kurze (eds.), *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, p. 38 and King, *Charlemagne*, pp. 76-77 (amended by me).
2 Migne (ed.), *Anastasii Abbatis*, col. 1179-1180 and Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 142.

Yet Charlemagne's success at this point was not the first attempt to forge a new political configuration that encompassed the whole Italian peninsula. Lombard kings such as Liutprand (r. 712-744), Aistulf (r. 749-756), and Desiderius had all attempted to create a kingdom that controlled all of Italy. An increasingly self-confident orthodox ideology, a notable element of the 'New Kingship' of Perctarit (r. 661-662 and 672-688), and Perctarit's son Cuninc pert (688-700), allied with enhanced abilities and territorial ambitions of hegemony, failed to assuage implacable papal antipathy.[3] It was this papal opposition that was to invoke Frankish intervention and the Lombard downfall.[4]

Both the life and works of Paul the Deacon shadow these momentous changes in Italy. As an important commentator, his works have been interrogated for their 'function, conception and intention' with respect to the events of 773-774 and its effects upon the situation on the ground.[5] His physical presence at three of the courts associated with the dramatic events of 774 – those of the Lombard kings in Pavia, the Lombard dukes in Benevento, and Charlemagne in Francia – preclude a straightforward association between on the one hand his ethnic loyalties and on the other his obligations to his patrons. Despite, or even because of this proximity to the main protagonists, Paul made few direct references to the Lombard kingdom's downfall. His remarks on this subject are somewhat equivocal. On the one hand none of his works deal directly in detail or at length with the end of the Lombard kingdom. This may be simply because it was not an area that was directly relevant for his compositional purposes.[6] On the other hand, it is clearly mentioned in passing in the *HL* where he observes:

> *Veniet autem tempus, quando ipsum oraculum habebitur despectui et tunc gens ipsa peribit. Quod nos ita factum esse probavimus, qui ante Langobardorum perditionem eandem beatis Iohannis basilicam, quae ubique in loco qui Modicia dicitur est constituta, per viles personas ordinari conspeximus, ita ut indignis et adulteris non pro vitae merito, sed praemiorum datione isdem locus venerabilis largiretur.*

3 Delogu, Guillou & Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini*, pp. 96-107; Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 28-47; and Gasparri, *Italia Longobarda*, pp. 74-99.

4 This may be termed the 'standard narrative', but it is predominantly, as Pohl observes, based on hostile Frankish and Papal sources. See Pohl, *Gens ipsa peribit*, pp. 67-78, at p. 67.

5 Hartmann, *Vitam litteris*, p. 71.

6 Clearly, there would be no particular need to mention the end of the Lombard kingdom in three of the four prose narratives we have from Paul. It is not even logically necessary for the end of the kingdom to be discussed in the *HL*.

> But a time shall come when this place of prayer will be held in contempt and then the people itself shall perish. We have proved that this has so occurred, since we have seen that before the fall of the Langobards, this same Basilica of blessed John which was established in the place called *Modicia* (Monza) was governed by vile persons so that this holy place was bestowed upon the unworthy and adulterous, not for the merits of their lives, but in the giving of spoils.[7]

This is a significant and important passage whose immediate context in the *HL* was the failure and discomfiture of one (Byzantine) emperor and consequently the survival of Lombard polities in Italy. Whilst we do not discover who the *vilas personas* were or the foundation for Paul's (rather personal) rancour, his reference to the *Langobardorum perditionem* is clear. As Pohl suggests there was 'no future for the Lombards from Paul's point of view'.[8] Elsewhere, however, in the earlier *Gesta Episcopum Mettensium*, Paul does deal directly with the events of 774. He writes:

> *Denique inter plura et Miranda quae gessit, Langobardorum gentem bis iam a patre devictam, altero eorum rege cui Desiderius nomen erat capto, alteroque qui dicebatur Adelgisus et cum genitore regnantem suo, Constantinopolim pulso universam sine gravi praelio suae subdidit dicioni.* The people of the Lombards [had] formerly [been] twice subdued by [his] father (i.e. Pepin I). [Charles] among his many admirable achievements placed them completely under his rule without a severe battle. One of their kings named Desiderius was taken captive, the other one called Adelgisus who reigned with his father was driven away to Constantinople.[9]

'It was', concluded Paul, 'hard to know what to admire more in such a man; courage in war, celebrated wisdom or proficiency in all the liberal arts' (*De quo viro nescias, utrum virtutem in eo bellicam, an sapientiae claritatem omniumque liberalium artium magis admireris peritiam*).[10] Such remarks would clearly chime with Charlemagne's description of Paul as his *clientulo*

7 *MGH SrL*, p. 147 and *Foulke*, p. 219 (with amendments).

8 Pohl, *Gens ipsa peribit*, p. 70. Bullough suggests that Paul's reference in *HL* I.1 – 'that the Lombards had ruled happily in Italy' (*quae postea in Italia feliciter regnavit*) – also implicitly refers to the end of the *gens* appears rather less certain. Bullough, *Ethnic History and the Carolingians*, p. 88.

9 *MGH SS*, p. 265 and Goffart, *Paul the Deacon's Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium,* p. 85 (translation amended slightly by me). See also Kempf, *Paul the Deacon*, p.75.

10 *MGH SS*, p. 265 and Goffart, *Metz,* p. 85

(client).[11] Gasparri suggests that this is simply the 'voice of the victors', but one may conclude that this is a prime example of the ambivalence and adaptability (*anpassungsfähig*) of Paul's works.[12] Such adaptability is further exemplified, on the other hand, by his closeness with the rulers of Benevento, which remained fundamentally beyond the control of Charlemagne. Both Arichis II (r. 758-787) and his wife Adelperga (the daughter of Desiderius) were connected to Paul through their patronage and both are praised in commissions that Paul had completed.[13] Finally, one has to wonder whether the involvement of Paul's brother Arichis in the revolt of Hrodgaud of Friuli in 775-776 was condoned in any active sense by Paul. Indeed, one could suggest that the very act of creation of a *Historia Langobardorum*, soon after the end of its independence, is both provocative and indicative of a desire to sustain an identity now forcibly and uncomfortably submerged within a Frankish hegemony.[14]

Discussions of Paul's responses to the end of the Lombard kingdom are not, however, as diagnostic of his responses to issues generally as might be expected by modern commentators. As we have seen from this issue alone it is not possible, and moreover it is not wise, to seek to find one reaction of Paul's which will 'explain' all his works or what he says at any particular juncture. This indicates why it has not been possible to attain a consensus in the literature because it is simply not possible to find an all-encompassing link between identity and authorial output. The range of opinion reflects Paul's ambivalence and adaptability. McKitterick took the view that the *HL* was an *admonitio* for Charlemagne's son Pepin (r. 781-810) in his role as King of Italy.[15] Whereas Goffart has suggested that it was a work designed to guide the Beneventan Grimoald III (r. 788-806), the son of Arichis II, in his efforts to maintain a precarious Beneventan independence.[16] Other theories have suggested that Paul was motivated by a desire to promote the Lombard identity;[17] that his agenda was based on the interests of Montecassino;[18] or

11 Migne, *PL*, xcv, cols. 1159-1160 and King, *Charlemagne*, p. 208.

12 Gasparri, *The Fall of the Lombard Kingdom*, pp. 41-65, and Hartmann, *Vitam Litteris*, p. 71.

13 Crivellucci, *HR*, pp. 3-4; *MGH SrL*, pp. 13-14; and 191; Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* , p. 3; and Neff, *Die Gedichte*, pp. 14-19.

14 Hartmann, *Vitam litteris*, pp. 75-84, especially pp. 79-81. See Gasparri, *774: Ipotesi*.

15 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, pp. 319-339 and McKitterick, *History and Memory*.

16 *Narrators,* pp. 333 and 380-381 and Krüger, *Zur 'beneventanischen' Konzeption*, p. 34. However, McKitterick:'I find myself totally unconvinced by Goffart's inferences that Paul wrote the History of the Lombards for the Lombards and especially for the Lombards of Benevento', McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, p. 326.

17 Pohl, *Paulus Diaconus,* pp. 378-379, and Pohl, *Paolo Diacono*, pp. 419-420.

18 Costambeys, *Monastic Environment of Paul the Deacon* in *Chiesa*, p. 138.

that his work was indicative of sympathy for Greek theology and policies.[19] Whilst each idea has been carefully constructed and is internally cogent, they cannot all be entirely correct at the same time. The reality may be that all these suggestions have some value when one considers the life and works of Paul in total, but neither Paul as an individual nor his reactions to his reality would have remained static and fixed over a writing career that lasted more than thirty years.

Thus, mapping Paul's location at any particular time and matching this to his actions and his writings to elucidate an over-arching response to his past and identity will generate ambivalence and contradiction. In short, it will not work. Additionally this approach does not put his narratives and their structures at the forefront of analysis, and thus underestimates the complexities of his viewpoints to his past and present realities. Paul's narratives have been described as a patchwork, a jumble of genres combining dynastic, religious, and national history with hagiography, biography, and legendary elements.[20] Despite this jumble there is structure and organisation in what Paul has chosen to say and how he has chosen to do so. As shall be demonstrated later, Paul uses a wide range of sources in constructing his narratives. Some sources are more or less transparent, others not. It is evident that not only does he use his own experience, but also the reports and memories of others.[21] In this way Paul's work can fall between the 'hard' modern paradigms of 'fact' and 'fiction' and thus become 'fiction of fact'.[22] It is all too easy to forget that Paul was writing history, that he manages and uses sources and in this process edits and selects material. It is thus subject to the usual vagaries of extant sources, their reliabilities, their discourses, and the dislocation caused by the time gap between the events depicted and the act of writing. With these issues in mind, this chapter will now consider what we know of Paul's life.

19 Herren, *Theological Aspects*, pp. 223-235. For a contrary view, see Pohl, *Paolo Diacono*, p. 421. '*È ovvio che Paolo era del tutto contrario ad ogni alleanza dei Longobardi con Bisanzio contro i Franchi*'.

20 *'L'Historia Langobardorum è un originale miscuglio di generi letterari diversi, storia nazionale, storia dinastica, sociale, locale, ed agiografia, biografia ed excursus leggendari; mai storia ecclesiastica e mai storia annalistica.'* Zanella, *La Legittimazione del Potere*, p. 69.

21 *MGH SrL*, pp. 51 and 124; *Foulke*, pp. 8-10 and 166-167; and *Capo*, pp. 200-201 and pp. 501-502.

22 Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages* and Erickson, *The Medieval Vision*; Pohl, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 381; and White, *Content of the Form*, pp. 44-45 and p. 57.

The Life of Paul the Deacon

As an eighth-century figure, both the movements and activities of Paul the Deacon are comparatively well-known. He has been connected not only with the Lombard courts of the kings in Pavia and the Duke/Princes of Benevento in the south, but also as one of Charlemagne's 'collected scholars' in Francia.[23] Significant gaps in our knowledge remain, however, and continue to present interpretational difficulties. Here, hindsight is not a help. Underpinning modern comment on his life are a number of theories as to where he might have been at significant moments in his life. As a corollary these theories are based on un-provable assumptions as to why he may have been where it is suggested he was. McKitterick sums up this process:

> All Paul's works have been fitted into a chronology of Paul's life according to assumptions about his piety, the peace and seclusion needed for writing, his relationship with Adelperga, his sojourn at Montecassino and where he was at the time of writing particular works.[24]

The results have often been speculative and for that reason alone unsatisfactory. With this in mind, we shall analyse the contexts of Paul's life, in the first place, by considering the information that either contemporaries or Paul himself provided. Thereafter, we shall return to discuss the broader panorama of biographical issues that cannot be resolved entirely.

It can generally be agreed that Paul was born into a noble family (although this is based on rather thin evidence) in the province of Friuli in the north-east of Italy towards the end of the first quarter of the eighth century.[25] Subsequently, he spent an unknown number of years at the Lombard court in Pavia before moving south to Benevento, possibly accompanying Adelperga, the daughter of king Desiderius, as she married Arichis II.[26] At

23 Mary Garrison's memorable phrase in Garrison, *Letters to a King*, p. 305.

24 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, p. 3.

25 See for instance F.H. Blackburne-Daniell's *Paulus Diaconus* in Smith and Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography,* p. 272 where 'Paulus' is described as 'from a Lombard family, probably noble of Friuli'. Similarly Kempf: 'Paul was probably born … to an aristocratic family in the duchy of Friuli', Kempf, *Paul the Deacon, Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, p. 2. One indication of this noble lineage may be noted in Paul's poem-plea to Charlemagne when he refers to his family's tenuous hold on nobility. See Neff, *Gedichte*, p. 54.

26 Earlier historiography repeated the late tradition of Leo Marsicanus (*c.* 1100) that Paul was Chancellor (*cancellarius*) or notary to Desiderius. See Blackburne-Daniell, *Paulus Diaconus,* p. 272.

an unspecified moment, after perhaps three to four years, Paul returned to the south of Italy and his monastery and (again, presumably) died there between 796 and 799.[27] These are the broad contours of Paul's life, but it is possible and useful to consider at greater length some of the issues of the less certain aspects of his life.

Paul himself remains a source for elements of his background and life. Even this, however, provides rather limited biographical content – save, significantly, for his personal genealogy. This genealogy is included within the *HL* and purports to delineate his family's origins from the first arrival of the Lombards in Italy up to his own birth.[28] This genealogy is significant. It forms part of a remarkable chapter in the *HL* (IV.37) which itself is composed of three sections; first, an account of an Avar invasion into Friuli and the treachery of Romilda; secondly, the fortunate escape of the future king Grimoald (r. 662-671); and, finally Paul's digression on his family and origins, which partially mirrors his account of Grimoald's adventures as a youth. Even so it is clear that Paul realises that his interpellation is a digression to his main theme as he remarks:

> *Exigit vero nunc locus, postposita generali historia, pauca etiam privatim de mea, qui haec scribo, genealogia retexere.*
> The topic now requires me to postpone my general history and relate also a few matters of a private character concerning the genealogy of myself who write these things.[29]

Subsequently he tells us that his family arrived in Italy when the Lombards left Pannonia (i.e. 568-569): *'Eo denique tempore quo Langobardorum gens de Pannoniis ad Italiam venit'* [At the time when the nation of the Langobards came to Italy from Pannonia].[30] Although, as has often been pointed out, Paul may have missed a generation in his genealogy, he associates his great-grandfather (*pro-avus*) Lopichis with the time of the same Avar invasion of the early seventh century that also saw Grimoald, the future Lombard king, and his brothers carted off into captivity. Akin to Grimoald, Lopichis ultimately evades the clutches of the Avars and returns to the ruined family

27 See Kempf, *Paul the Deacon, Liber de episcopis Mettensibus,* p.3, who notes Paul's letter transmitted to Hadrian I at the request of Charlemagne in 785-786.

28 *MGH SrL*, pp. 131-132; *Foulke*, pp. 184-187; *Capo*, pp. 512-513; and Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders: The Lombard Kingdom*, p. 58.

29 *MGH SrL*, p. 131 and *Foulke*, p. 184. '*Retexere*' has the sense of un-ravel or un-weave, which is not brought out in Foulke's translation.

30 *MGH SrL*, p. 131 and *Foulke*, p. 184 with my own slight variation in the translation.

home in Friuli, where, although never explicitly stated, it would seem the family of Paul remained and where he was born.

Beyond this remarkable personal history of his family, we are also given a number of notices that provide an idea of Paul's own sense of identity; his physical presence in particular places (often as simple parenthesis); and, his own witness to features or events that he discusses. In the *HL* Paul mentions himself on fifteen separate occasions; these may be divided into incidental remarks, references to his activity as a writer, and his presence in various localities.[31] It will be useful to consider these references at greater length here.

First, his incidental references might be said to add little to our global knowledge of his biography, but do contribute to a fuller appreciation of him as an individual in the eighth-century.[32] That said, secondly, his comments on his literary works, his working abilities (and methods), and outputs are more significant. When introducing a poem in honour of Benedict of Nursia (c.480-547/8), he says, for instance:

> *Ego quoque pro parritate ingenii mei ad honorem tanti patris singula eius miracula per singula distica elegiaco metro hoc modo contexui.*
> I also according to my meagre talent have woven together in the following manner in honour of so great a father, each of his miracles by means of corresponding distichs in elegiac metre.[33]

His literary humility is again expressed in reference to his own earlier completed works. In a discussion of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), he remarks:

> *Ideo autem de beato Gregorio plura dicere obmittimus quia iam ante aliquid annos eius vitam Deo auxiliante texuimus. In qua quae dicenda fuerant iuxta tenuitatis nostrae vires universa discripsimus.*
> We omit to say anything more concerning the blessed Gregory because some years ago we composed his Life in which according to our slender ability we sketched in writing what was to be told.[34]

31 *MGH SrL*, pp. 50, 51, 64, 68, 76, 80, 87, 95, 105, 131, 134, 136, 167, and 170 and *Foulke*, pp. 7, 8, 10, 48, 49, 64, 70, 81, 99, 128, 184, 194, 201, 257, and 263.
32 *MGH SrL*, p. 50, *Foulke*, p. 7 and *Capo*, p. 374.
33 *MGH SrL*, p. 64, *Foulke*, p. 48 (with amendment) and *Capo*, pp. 411-418.
34 *MGH SrL*, p. 105, *Foulke*, p. 128, and *Capo*, p. 479.

Further, in a passage on Merovingian Gaul he discusses Arnulf (*c.*582-*c.*640) the ancestor of the Pippinids and Carolingians, and introduces the detail that:

> *Sed et ego in libro quem de episcopis eiusdem civitatis conscripsi flagitante Angelramno, viro mitissimo et sanctitate praecipuo, praefatae ecclesiae archiepiscopo, de hoc sacratissimo viro Arnulfo quaedam eius miracula conpossui, quae modo superfluum duxi replicare.*
> But I too in a book which I wrote concerning the bishops of this city (i.e. Metz), at the request of Angelramn, archbishop of the aforesaid church, a very gentle man and distinguished by holiness, have set down concerning this most holy man Arnulf certain of his miracles which I have considered it merely superfluous to repeat here.[35]

Whilst we might expect Paul to employ modesty when referring to *'tenuitatis nostrae vires'* (our slender powers) both passages, as we shall see subsequently, highlight two enduring facets of Paul's prose works. First, his admiration for Gregory the Great manifested not only in the *HL,* but also demonstrated in his short work devoted to the Pope, the *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*, which will be discussed below; and secondly, the role of patronage in these works which were commissioned and then completed by Paul. Paul's movements and presence in various localities adds further texture to his comments. Thirdly, there are a group of references that record Paul's travels. There are three important notices. Whilst his remarks on both Thionville and Poitiers are interposed into the main narratives as asides, there is still significance in the content. For Thionville he records:

> *Ego autem in Gallia Belgica in loco qui Totonis villa dicitur constitutes …*
> But when I was stationed in Belgic Gaul in a place which is called *Villa Totonis …*[36]

But his observations in this early section of Book I merely amount to a comparison of the measurement of his own shadow in the north of Gaul as opposed to Italy.[37] His second notice refers to his visit to Poitiers to see

35 *MGH SrL*, p. 170 and *Foulke*, p. 263. For Arnulf see Story (ed.), *Charlemagne*, p. 32 and Cracco-Ruggini, *The Crisis of the Noble Saint*, pp. 116-153.
36 *MGH SRL*, p. 50 and *Foulke*, p. 8.
37 MGH SrL, p. 50 and Foulke, p. 8.

the grave of Venantius Fortunatus (*c.*540-*c.*600), an earlier Italian who had moved to Francia:

> *Cum illuc orationis gratia, adventassem hoc epitaphium, rogatus ab Apro, eiusdem loci abbato.*
> For the purpose of prayer upon the request of Aper, the abbot of that place.[38]

Paul uses this chapter (II.13) to not only relate at length the career of Venantius, but to also include his own *epitaphium* composed and inscribed, we are told, upon the request of Aper (d.*c.* 799). In terms of Paul's biography we can draw a number of conclusions from these two notices alone: once again the role of patronage in the composition of Paul's works; his connections to the elite networks of the Frankish court that facilitated Paul's own movement throughout Gaul, from Thionville to Metz to Poitiers; and, of course, the extended stay Paul 'enjoyed' in the north.

The third reference has assumed greater importance in the discussion of scholars. Paul recalls an occasion when he was present at the court of the Lombard kings and saw the skull-cup of the Gepid king, Cunimund (d. 567):

> *Hoc ne cui videatur inpossible veritatem in Christo loquor ego hoc poculum vidi in quodam die festo Ratchis principem ut illut convivis suis ostentaret manu tenentem.*
> Lest this should seem impossible to anyone I speak the truth in Christ. I saw Prince Ratchis, holding this cup in his hand on a certain festal day to show it to his guests.[39]

So far as biographical significance is concerned the assumption has been made that not only does this passage place Paul in close proximity to the Lombard king Ratchis (r. 744-749 and 756-757), but also puts him at the court in Pavia at some point between 744 and 749 i.e. during the first tenure of Ratchis as king rather than the short, contested, and ultimately unsuccessful

38 *MGH SRL*, p. 80, *Foulke*, p. 70 and *Capo*, pp. 436-437. For Venantius Fortunatus, see George, *Venantius Fortunatus*; Brennan, *The Career of Venantius Fortunatus*, pp. 49-78; and Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, pp. 1-37. Aper was abbot of St. Hilary, Poitiers between 780 and 792 – see *MGH SrL*, p. 80 n.2 and *Capo*, p. 437.

39 *MGH SrL*, pp. 87-88; *Foulke*, p. 81; and *Capo*, p. 453. Most commentators presume that the production occurred at the Lombard court in Pavia.

period of Ratchis as Lombard ruler between late 756 and early 757.[40] It may be, however, that Paul points to this second period by his reference to Ratchis as a 'prince' rather than as a 'king' with intriguing possibilities regarding Paul's presence at Montecassino and his own loyalties to Ratchis. More generally, the passage reinforces not only Paul's Friulan origins, but also his family's connections to that of Pemmo, *Dux* of Friuli (*r.* 701/12-*c.* 738), whose sons Ratchis and Aistulf (r. 749-756) subsequently occupied the Lombard throne.[41] It is tempting to believe that 'the quality of his family' rendered Paul's presence in Pavia a natural outcome of the assumption of power by Ratchis, but apart from this reference and Paul's attendance at the classes of Flavian at court, there remain significant un-resolvable issues.[42] Despite his indication that he spent time in Pavia, Paul does not say when he arrived, when he left, or indeed what it was exactly he did whilst in residence in the capital. Indeed, for the period between 749 and his Frankish journey in the early 780s, a significant proportion of his adult life, there is no certainty. The decade of the 750s is particularly obscure. Goffart's suggestion that Paul remained at Pavia during the rule of both Ratchis and Aistulf when 'it is tempting to guess that this was where he was ordained deacon and started upon the path of ecclesiastical preferment' remains unverifiable in the extant evidence. Further, Bullough's comment that:

> where he was in the 750s … he nowhere indicates. But he clearly managed to extend his book-learning, write his first surviving poem, *Ordiar tuas laudes, o maxime Lari,* and (most importantly), successfully negotiate a change of ruling dynasty[43].

This amounts to the sum of our knowledge of this time with regard to Paul and his activities. On the evidence that Paul's notices supply, it is apparent that a comprehensive biography cannot be reconstructed; instead we are left with snapshots of his activities, albeit evocative in various places in

40 Miller, *Papal-Lombard Relations*, pp. 363-366. Ratchis did not use the title 'King', but 'Servant of Christ and Prince of the Lombards', and Hallenbeck, *Pavia and Rome*, pp. 85-90.

41 Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, p. 69 for Ratchis as *dux* and pp. 70-71 for Aistulf as *dux*.

42 Bougard, *Paul Diacre,* p. 6. Leonardi also suggests that there was a '*familiarità con la famiglia reale*' and '*è rapporto con re Ratchis e poi con Desiderio*', Leonardi, *La figura di Paolo Diacono*, p. 13. Early commentators suggested that Paul was the *cancellarius* of Desiderius; see for instance Vossius, *De Historicis Latinis*, p. 290, but such a view was based on a late tradition, see Blackburne-Daniell, *Paulus Diaconus,* p. 272.

43 Bullough, *Ethnic Inheritance*, pp.86-87. For the poem, see Neff, *Die Gedichte*, pp. 1-6.

Italy and Gaul.[44] Some further assistance, however, particularly with regard to the importance of patronage, is provided in some of Paul's earlier works and in references to him by others. In the first place, in possibly his first narrative work, the *Historia Romana*, both his presence at the monastery of Montecassino and his connections to Adelperga, the daughter of Desiderius (r. 757-774) and wife to Arichis II, the *Dux*/Prince of Benevento (r. 758-787), are shown by his dedicatory letter which prefaced the *HR*.[45] This dedication is addressed to *'Domnae Adelpergae eximiae summaeque Ductrici'* (Lady Adelperga, eminent and highest Duchess) by *'Paulus exiguus et supplex'* (Paul, poor and in humble entreaty).[46] He indicates that:

> *Quam cum avido, ut tibi moris est, animo perlustrasses, hoc tibi in eius textu praeter immodicam etiam brevitatem displicuit, quia utpote vir gentilis in nullo divinae historiae cultusque nostri fecerit mentionem; placuit itaque tuae excellentiae, ut eandem historiam paulo latius congruis in locis extenderem eique aliquid ex sacrae textu Scripturae, quo eius narrationis tempora evidentius clarerent aptarem.*
> How with eagerness, as is your nature, you had perceived in your mind that rather than excessiveness, brevity in his (i.e. Eutropius') text was displeasing to you and since, he was a Pagan, in no place is mention made of our divine history and religion. As was your pleasure, therefore, your excellence, in order to make the same history more agreeable and a little more extensive, I have been extending passages and adapting some things from the text of Holy Scripture which have clarified the evidence of the narration of the times.[47]

Whilst this preface begs a number of questions, which will be considered further subsequently in Chapter 2, once the hyperbole of dedication is set aside, one can identify again the importance of patronage for Paul in the creation of his prose works. Whether it really had been the reaction of Adelperga to the Roman history of Eutropius that had prompted the commission in the first place, or Paul's own original idea as part of his educational programme for Adelperga, is not an issue that can be determined. Important details of Paul's biography remain as intractable issues. His birth date cannot,

44 *MGH SrL*, p. 167 and *Foulke*, p. 263.
45 Droysen (ed.), *Historia Romana,* pp.4-5.
46 *Crivellucci*, p. 3.
47 *Crivellucci*, pp. 3-4 and Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past*, p. 40 (Cornford's translation with amendment).

for instance, be pinned down exactly. Waitz favoured an early birth date and suggested:'It would seem that Paul was born 720-5' (*circa annum ut videtur 720-5 Paulus natus*).[48] Most other commentators agree. For Bullough, Paul was born 'in the 720s or a little later'; Engels suggested 'around 720', but provides no evidence; whereas Bougard pinpointed 'after 725' without explanation as to why.[49] Goffart is more cautious, indicating that 'he could not have been born earlier than 720 or later than 730, unless we make him very old when he wrote the *HL*'.[50] All these dates, however, are themselves based upon an extrapolation from an idea of the sort of age that Paul may have obtained when at the court of Ratchis, generally agreed to have been during his first rule as Lombard king i.e. between 744 and 749. On this basis, it would then follow that Paul was born at some point between 720 and 730. Further complications arise from the formal date upon which Paul 'entered' Montecassino as a monk, known as his *'monacazione'*. These are the options:

a around 749 when Ratchis was forced to abdicate and retired to Montecassino;
b around 763 when Paul followed Adelperga to Benevento;
c as a direct result of the downfall of the Lombard kingdom in 774;
d after the failure of Hrodgaud of Friuli's revolt in 776;[51]
e at an unknown point, un-related to events.[52]

We have some help from Paul himself in this regard. In his famous extant letter written to the Abbot of Montecassino, Theodemar (d. *c.* 787), probably composed in late 782, whilst Paul was resident in Francia, he memorably observed:

> *Sed ad conparationem vestri coenobii mihi palatium carcer est, ad conlationem tantae quae apud vos est quietis hic mihi degere tempestas est.*
> In comparison with your monastery the palace is a prison and in comparison with the peace which in your company is so great, my sojourn here is a storm.[53]

48 *MGH SrL*, p. 13.

49 Engels, *Observations*, p. 1; Bougard, *Paul Diacre*, p. 5-*'Il naît dans les années 720, probablement après 725'*.

50 *Narrators*, p. 334.

51 Waitz also suggests that Paul was sent to Benevento and accompanied Adelperga '*Paulum cum Adelperga, Desiderii Regis filia Beneventum venisse, inde Casinum adiisse*', *MGH SrL*, p. 14.

52 *Narrators*, p. 338: 'for all one knows Paul's decision was spontaneous and wholly un-related to politics'.

53 *MGH SrL*, p. 16 and Herren, *Theological Aspects*, p. 235.

Commentators have used the letter as a definitive indication of Paul's membership in the monastic community, but a careful reading of the contents does not generate certainty. Indeed, as we have noted above, Paul's own dedicatory preface in his *HR* associates him with Benevento in the early 760s, and this would appear to be the best option. It does still, however, beg the question as to whether his move south was inextricably linked to his *monacazione*. Here, Costambeys's words of caution are worth remembering: 'however tempting', he reminds us, 'it would be wrong to try to assume that it (i.e. his *monacazione*) was associated with a dateable incident'.[54] The best we can do, suggests Costambeys, is to 'locate the event in a broad context'.[55] It is clear, nonetheless, that Paul's association with Montecassino deepened over time, particularly from the 780s onwards, so that he increasingly identified himself with both the monastic life and the community of St Benedict.

Paul did not however remain in the south of Italy for the rest of his life. His letter to Theodemar, at least, provides a clear indication of his presence in Francia and once again the impact of patronage upon his life, undertaking commissions for both Charlemagne and Angilramn of Metz. Charlemagne, indeed, in a letter that accompanied Paul's *Homiliarium*, referred to *Paulo, diacono, familiari, clientulo nostro* (Paul, deacon, a man close to us, our client) which serves to underscore Paul's patronal relationships.[56] This period of time in the 780s when he resided in Francia is another puzzle of Paul's career and there is little unanimity on the exact period of his stay north of the Alps.[57] McKitterick suggests that 'there seems to be no clear indication that Paul was not at the Frankish court from 776'.[58] Costambeys, however, has Paul commencing his journey to Francia sometime between 781 and 783. Kempf places him there between 782 and up to 785/6, yet Goffart declares that there is 'no positive reason for locating Paul in Francia after 784'. Finally, McKitterick has him 'retired' to the monastery 'possibly as early as 786/7'.[59] At the very least we know that Paul spent a block of time in close proximity to the Frankish seats of power.

54 Costambeys, *Monastic Environment* , p. 127.

55 Costambeys, *Monastic Environment*, p. 128.

56 King, *Charlemagne*, p. 208; Neff, *Die Gedichte*, p. 66; and Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 89. Paul's own comment says:'*Nulla mihi aut flaventis est metalli copia aut argentis sive opum, desunt et marsuppia. Itam litteris ni emam, nihil est, quod tribuam*' (I have no supply of golden ore, of silver or of riches and I even lack a purse. Unless I can earn my living by what I write, I've nothing to give).

57 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, p. 324.

58 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, p. 323.

59 Costambeys, *Monastic Environment*, p. 127; Kempf, *Paul the Deacon's Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, pp. 280-281; *Narrators*, p. 342; and McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, p. 324.

Finally, Paul's year of death remains unknown despite his pupil Hilderic supplying the day itself i.e. April 13th. Most manuals confidently indicate that the year in question was 799 on the basis that Paul never referred to the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor on Christmas Day, 800.[60] Pohl has analysed the evidence further, showing the way to pinpoint a better option. Because of the reference to the destruction of the Avar kingdom's *Hring* in 796, and at the same time the absence of comment on the events in Rome in 800, we can say that Paul died at some point between 796 and 799.[61]

Notwithstanding these uncertainties, there are enough defined dimensions in Paul's biography to demonstrate the important patronal connections that Paul embodied with Lombard and Frankish rulers. The complexities of his life experiences and, as we shall see, the range of prose narratives do not allow us to fit Paul's responses to his world into a 'one-size-fits-all' agenda. Thus, as Walter Pohl acutely remarked, Paul stands for us upon a number of inter-related, interconnected, yet often mutually contradictory thresholds which remain 'unsolved' (*irrisolti*).[62] More simply for Paul's pupil Hilderic in his obituary acrostic, Paul was' *Laevita. Doctor. Praeclarus .et. Insons* ('Deacon. Doctor. Noble and Innocent').[63] Rather than seeking further certainties in his biography, it will be more useful at this point to consider the works of Paul globally in the next section.

The Space of Communication in the Works of Paul the Deacon

Paul the Deacon and his works were an important focus for some of the most distinguished historians working in nineteenth-century Germany. Notable were Wilhelm Bruckner (*Die Sprache der Langobarden*)*;* Helmut Grisar (*Die Gregorbiographie des Paulus Diaconus*)*;* R. Jacobi (*Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte*)*;* Theodor Mommsen (*Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte*)*;* Georg Waitz (*über die handschriftliche überlieferung*)*;* and, C.L. Bethmann (*Paulus Diakonus: Leben und Schriften*) amongst others. These were the commentators that both informed and furnished William Dudley Foulke with his information on Paul and his use of sources and to whom

60 See Peters, *Introduction* to the Foulke re-print, p.xii, or Blackburne-Daniell, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 272, which simply indicates 'not later than 800'.

61 Pohl, *Paolo Diacono*, pp. 413-414. The lack of an obituary for Theodemar may also suggest Paul's death date, which occurred according to Hilderic's epitaph on April 13th.

62 Pohl, *Paolo Diacono*, p. 423.

63 *MGH SrL*, pp. 23-24.

he deferred in matters of controversy.[64] Theodor Mommsen's (1817-1903) *Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus* was particularly influential for Foulke; indeed Mommsen's views on Paul's approach to the construction of prose narratives remains important for us. Mommsen suggested that:

> Quite apart from the content of his narrative, it is well worth giving thought to the way in which, putting together his *History* from the most disparate elements, he has given it a unity both of form and of style … It is remarkable how he has managed to mould together the pulpit style of Orosius, the anecdotal forms of *exempla*, the information in Roman, Frankish and Lombard annals and histories and the crude legends of the Lombard *Origo* and has in some degree tuned them up and tuned them down into a Eutropian melody.[65]

Mommsen's judgement here refers in particular to Paul's last work, the *HL*, by which time his writing career had encompassed a wide range of projects, patrons, and years. The thirty years or so that covers his known writing career – from his first extant poetical output composed in *c.* 763 on Lago di Como to some point in the late 790s when the *HL* was concluded – symbolised the passage for Paul from his maturity to old age. That period also, as we have seen, saw both institutional and personal change for Italy and the Lombards and by extension, Paul himself.[66]

Jacques-Paul Migne who collated all of Paul's works in 1861 divided his material into three areas: *Opera Historica, Opera Ascetica,* and *Epistolae & Carmina*.[67] Whilst this is a useful starting point, it is not entirely satisfactory

64 See Foulke (2007 re-print), pp.ix-x, which lists his principal authorities. Only two (i.e. Giansevero and Hodgkin) did not work in a German context; Appendix ii (pp. 318-392) is reliant upon Jacobi and Mommsen.

65 Th. Mommsen, *Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte*, pp. 54-5. '*Ganz abgesehen von dem Inhalt seiner Mittheilungen ist es der Mühe werth sich zu vergegenwärtigen, wie er sein Geschichtswerk aus den disparatesten Quellen mit voller Herrschaft über den stil zu formaler Einheit durchgebildet hat … Aber es ist in der That merkwürdig, wie es den Kanzelstil des Orosius, die Anekdoten des Exempelbücher, die bald abgerissenen, bald wieder in weites Detail sich verlaufenden Nachrichten des römischen, langobardischen und fränkischen Annalen und Historien, die rohe Legende des langobardischen* Origo *leidlich zusammengeschmolzen und einigermassen auf die Weise des Eutropius herab oder hinaufgestimmit hat …*' Translation from Bullough, *Ethnic History*, p. 85.

66 *'Per Paolo Diacono é il tempo del passagio dalla maturita alla vecchiaia*' & '*é il tempo in cui si modifica profondamente la sua retedi relazioni e affetti; é, ancora, il tempo di rivolgimenti del quadro politico e istituzionale nel quale era abituato a vivere*', Gandino, *La Dialettica*, p. 67.

67 Migne (ed.), *Opera Pauli Warnefridi*. See un-paginated contents page at front of volume.

on a number of levels. In the first place, so far as his historical narratives are concerned, one finds that the material does not satisfy commonplace genre definitions. Thus in the *HL,* for instance, he weaves both poetic and hagiographical strands together, notably his hymn in praise of St Benedict of Nursia (480-547/8) interposed towards the end of Book I.[68] Later in a reflection of his composition of epitaphs for Lombard and Frankish patrons, he includes epitaphs as poems for Venantius Fortunatus (*c.* 530-*c.* 600/9) (II,13) and Droctulft (fl. late 6th-century) (III, 19).[69]

In the second place, whilst the *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni* and his *Libellus de ordine et gestis Episcoporum Mettensium*, known more usually as the *Gesta Episcopum Mettensium,* are categorised as historical works, they are more properly works of hagiography and *Gesta,* fashioned in some respects with the *Liber Pontificalis* in mind. It is within the themes and contexts of Paul's space of communication in his narratives that span and link the conceptual gaps between his historical works on the one hand, such as the *Historia Romana* (*HR*) and his intellectual, pedagogic, or even didactic religious compositions such as his *Homiliarium,* on the other hand.[70]

In a similar fashion, Paul's poetry also spans and links his range of intellectual and patronal-oriented outputs. Early works such as his acrostic poem in praise of Adelperga, or his material written in praise of her husband Arichis and the Lombard kings Desiderius and his son Adelchis, illustrate his connection to elite circles in Lombard Italy.[71] The epitaphs he composed which as McKitterick has pointed out 'the greater proportion are for lay members of the Carolingian and Lombard royal houses and most of these are for the Carolingians' would appear to highlight a significant feature of Paul's life.[72]

This expediency in both Paul's usefulness and usage by both Lombard and Carolingian courts may at first sight appear puzzling. Here patron/client relationship would appear to fundamentally underpin most of Paul's known life and activity. Whilst in Francia Paul undertook a number of commissions that exemplify his closeness to Frankish power, his connections to

68 *MGH SrL*, pp. 64-67 and *Capo*, pp. 50-59 and pp. 411-412. See also Smolak, *Poetologisches zu den Benedikhymnen* , pp. 105-127. See also Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, p. 362.

69 *MGH SrL*, pp. 80-81 and 102-103 and *Foulke*, pp. 70 and 119-120.

70 *PL*, xcv, cols. 1159-1584.

71 *MGH SrL*, pp. 13-14 and Mastrandrea, *Classicismo e cristianesimo* , pp. 293-312; and Stella, *La poesia di Paolo Diacono*, pp. 551-575.

72 McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 69. See *MGH SrL*, p. 15 for the text of the supplication Paul addressed to Charlemagne; pp. 9 for work addressed to Peter of Pisa; and Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 82-83 and 86-89.

the Carolingian programme of *correctio* and his versatility as a writer.[73] Here he produced the *GEM* for Angelramn (d. 791), Charlemagne's arch-chaplain, a collection of the letters of Gregory the Great for Adalhard of Corbie (*c.* 750-826), and for Charlemagne a version of the *Lexikon* of Festus and the *Homiliarium*.[74] Charlemagne had declared 'since it is our concern that the condition of our Churches should always advance towards better things, we strive with vigilant zeal to repair the manufactory of learning' he had 'charged' Paul to complete the task. Charlemagne describes the work:

> *Tractatus atque sermones diversorum catholicorum patrum perlegens et optima quaeque decerpens in duobus voluminibus per totius anni circulum congruentes cuique festivitati distincte et absque vitiis nobis obtulit lectiones.*
> He has read through the treatises and sermons of the various catholic fathers, culled all the best things and offered us two volumes of readings, suitable for each separate festival throughout the whole course of the year and free from errors.[75]

He also appears to have been comfortable composing epitaphs for, on the one hand, Arichis II in Benevento, and on the other, in Francia for Hildegard (758-783), Charlemagne's second queen.[76] Charlemagne himself describes Paul as his *clientulus noster* (our client) in a letter commanding and instituting throughout his realms the usage of Paul's *Homiliarium*. The importance of patronage as a motivation for Paul has, until recently, been undervalued. The key to this apparent chameleon shift of loyalties may lie in a remark that Paul made in a poem addressed to Peter of Pisa (744-799) in which he says, 'Unless I earn my living by what I write, I have nothing to give' (*vitam litteris ni emam nihil est quod tribuam*).[77] Clearly there was an intricate set of tensions behind Paul's works and thought, not least in his narrative

73 Hen, *Paul the Deacon and the Frankish Liturgy*, pp. 220-221.

74 Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 358 and note 85 with further references; Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 24 and p. 105; Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, pp. 76-79; Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's Cousins*; Dobias-Rozdestvenskaïa, *La Main de Paul Diacre*, pp. 1-15; Kasten, *Adalhard von Corbi*; Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Adalhardi*, col. 1507-1555; Lanciotti, *Tra Festo e Paolo*, pp. 237-250 with further references; and *PL*, xcv, col. 1159-1584.

75 *PL*, xcv, col. 1159-1160; King, *Charlemagne*, p. 208 and *MGH SrL*, p. 20. Hen, *Paul the Deacon*, pp. 205-221, who advises caution with regard to the identity of 'Paul', at p. 218.

76 See *PL*, xcv, col. 1601-1602 and *MGH SrL*, pp. 191-192. Depending on one's view of Charlemagne's relationship with Himiltrude (*c.* 742-*c.* 780), Hildegard can be termed his third wife.

77 *MGH SrL*, p. 20; King, *Charlemagne*, p. 208; Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 89; and Neff, *Gedichte*, p. 66.

works where his material was moulded and shaped in the space between his own intent as an author and the message of his sources, both oral and literary. As Helmut Reimitz remarked, this 'art of truth' depended [up] 'on the ability to adapt and adopt history without compromising the authority of its representations'.[78] Contrary to Mommsen's remarks noted above, we shall now turn to consider not only how Paul constructed his narratives but also the content of these narratives. To do this, in the next chapter we shall consider the structures and contents of Paul's three earliest narratives.

78 Reimitz, *The Art of Truth*, p. 103.

2 The Early Narratives

This chapter will analyse the structures of Paul's first three narratives i.e. the *HR*, the *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni,* and the *Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium* as a prelude to a lengthier examination and discussion of the *HL*. Examining these three works will allow us to not only understand Paul's development as a writer and a historian, but also help us to understand how he put together his lengthiest and most important final work, the *HL*. For each of the three early narratives, we shall consider four principal issues: first, can a common narrative strategy be identified; secondly, do the works demonstrate evidence of Paul's approach to events and individuals; thirdly, did Paul develop his own voice in his works or remain bound to the restrictions implied by his client relationship with patrons; and fourthly how did he use and select his sources?

Before we proceed to consider these early narratives in turn, a note of their respective chronological relation to each other (and indeed the *HL*) is required. It is not possible to present an exact chronological order, but this study suggests that out of all of the works, the *HR* is the earliest. There remains the greatest doubt as to when the *VGSM* was composed and thus how it fits into the canon of Paul's works. However, it is demonstrable via later references in the *HL* that both it and the *GEM* were written, composed and completed on a significantly earlier occasion. Accordingly, this chapter will consider the *HR* first, the *VGSM* second, and conclude with the *GEM*.

'Ita Romanorum apud Romam imperium … cum hoc Augustulo periit' (Thus the Roman Empire at Rome … with this Augustulus perished): The *Historia Romana*

Paul's associations with Lombard courts in both the north and south of Italy first bore fruit with his extended and edited version of the *Historia Romana*. As we saw in Chapter 1, Paul's movement to the south of Italy can be linked to the matrimonial alliance between the Lombard king, Desiderius, and the Beneventan *dux*, Arichis II. Paul's surviving dedication in the work itself plainly indicates that it was conceived for the reading pleasure of Adelperga, who had been in some measure disappointed by the original work of Eutropius.[1] Unlike (both) his later (and shorter) prose narratives,

1 See Crivellucci, *Historia Romana*, pp. 3-4.

Paul depended upon the original text of the *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* of Eutropius (*c.* 320-*c.* 390), but added a further six books of his own to the original ten books of Eutropius to create the *HR*.[2] The *HR* itself has received less scholarly interest than it merits despite its popularity as a Roman history in the Middle Ages.[3] It remains a 'rare focus of scholarship'.[4] There are over 150 extant manuscripts, of which four pre-date 1000.[5] It is interesting that the *editio princeps* of the *Historia Romana* was produced some 42 years prior to that of the HL in 1471.[6] Droysen's earlier edition for the *MGH* series rehearsed sixty known manuscripts, but used only seven, whereas Amedeo Crivellucci (1850-1914)'s edition of 1914 used eleven for the main text and thirteen for the dedication – but, at the same time, has a considerable foundation of 113 – and will, therefore be preferred as the text used in the following discussion.

Despite the medieval and early modern popularity of the work, responses to it by scholarly commentators have been mixed. Foulke in the original introduction to his translation of the *HL* even suggested that it was 'of little importance to us now [i.e. 1907] since his [Paul's] statements [are] taken almost wholly from other well-known sources'.[7] Later, Wallace-Hadrill, for instance, in a short pen-picture of Paul's career suggested that it had been 'carelessly put together'.[8] Crivellucci's view in this instance should hold more weight; he suggested that it was not a work of 'composition', but a compilation and general summary (*compilazione e giustapossizione generale*).[9] Despite this perception that the work is a pastiche compilation, the *HR* was

2 Bird, *Eutropius*, pp. vii-xviii.

3 Mortensen, *Diffusion of Roman Histories*, p. 101.

4 Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past*, p. 20.

5 Mortensen, *Diffusion of Roman Histories*, pp. 104-105. These four are (using Mortensen's numbering system):

a [127] Paris BN Baluze 270 – a collection of fragments VIII/IX s. – central Italy;

b [96] Lucca Biblioteca Capitolare Felinsana 27 IX s. – Italy (= Crivellucci H2);

c [107] München Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek clm 3516 IX s. – North Italy (= Crivellucci M);

d [8] Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Hist. 6-II IX/X s. – Italy south/central (= Crivellucci H1).

The full range for Paul the Deacon alone is: before 800 – 1; 900 – 3; 1000 – 3; 1100 – 10; 1200 – 22; 1300 – 9; 1400 – 17 and 1500 – 88 = total of 153. If one collates the composite texts which merge Eutropius and Paul and Landulf *Sagax*, the total figure rises to 218. Mortensen conveniently sets out the chronological order on p. 116. For Crivellucci's notes, see Crivellucci, *HR,* pp. ix-xvii and for his '*classificata*' see pp. xvii-xxiii. I have not seen Charles H. Beeson, 'The earliest manuscript of Paulus Diaconus' *Historia Romana*', *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi* 25 (1930), pp. 15-22.

6 The *editio princeps* was published by Georgius Laener in Rome.

7 Foulke, *History of the Langobards by Paul the Deacon*, p. xviii.

8 Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West*, p. 44. He adds, however, that it is still 'vital' and an 'indication of what really stirred the imaginations of barbarians in the eighth century'.

9 Crivellucci, *HR*, p. xxxvi.

the subject of an exhaustive edition by Crivellucci for the series *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* just prior to the First World War. Subsequently in the 1920s and 1930s, it was considered and analysed by the Italian historian Dante Bianchi. Yet for Bianchi, whilst he suggested that it was 'a very succinct exposition of the history of Italy', his main concern was more for what it could reveal (for Bianchi), about Paul's moral viewpoint than for either what he actually wrote or how he chose to structure his subject matters.[10] Sestan writing in the 1960s was in broad agreement, suggesting that there was little within the work that originated from Paul himself.[11] For Goffart, who remains one of the few Anglophone scholars to seriously analyse the *HR*, however, 'the six-book continuation exemplifies the style of narrative of the *HL*' and 'his elaboration of the end of empire in the west [has] more of Paul's personal manner than is generally acknowledged'.[12] Goffart is entirely correct here, for we can indeed, by an examination of Paul's methods and sources and his structural organisation, identify his responses to events and individuals. At the same time, associated in some respects with the under-estimation of the *HR* as an item to study in its own right, has been the position maintained prominently by Goffart in the 1980s, that his work forms a deliberate literary diptych with the later *HL*.[13] This will be considered below; suffice it to say at this point, the difficulty for Goffart and others is both how to connect and how to explain the lengthy gap in time (and indeed, conception and creation) between the compositions of the two works.[14]

There is little certainty as to when or indeed where Paul wrote the *HR*, save that it is an early prose work that precedes the *HL*. Crivellucci's suggestions, like other commentators, depended upon references that Paul made to the number of Adelperga's children.[15] In an earlier poem, dedicated to

10 Bianchi, *Senso storico di Paolo Diacono*, p. 209. A notable exception to this approach is Cervini, *Romanità e Cristianesimo*, pp. 7-40. For comment on Bianchi and those who did not share his views, see Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, p. 8.

11 Sestan, Qualque Aspetti, p. 50, 'dopo quest'opera di sfondamento delle sue fonti, **poco rimane che sia di Paolo Diacono** e proprio soltanto di lui, o diro meglio che da lui sia attinto da fonti altrimenti concscuite'. My emphasis has been added.

12 Goffart, *Narrators*, p. 353.

13 See Mortensen, *Impero Romano*, pp. 355-366; Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past,* pp. 31-38. For Goffart, see *Narrators*, p. 363.

14 A link must straddle the 20 years between the two works. Goffart suggests that 'notes' and 'sketches' of the *HL* were prepared and left in Paul's cell at Monte Cassino to await a more propitious time for writing. It is an idea that lacks an empirical basis. See *Narrators*, p. 340.

15 Crivellucci, *Historia Romana*, pp. xxviii-xxxv and p. 4. Dümmler, *MGH Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, p. 36 and pp. 66-88. The dating is provided by line 6 for the first child. See also *Narrators*, p. 337.

Adelperga, Paul mentioned that she had one child. Later, by the time that Paul had written the dedication to the *HR,* she had three children; this had further increased to five grown children in 787. Even with this as a guide, Crivellucci suggested that it could have been written as early as 758 or as late as 782, but more probably between 761 and 774. Corbato was prepared to restrict the range of compositional dates to between 766 and 769.[16] Both Goffart ('toward 767') and Mortensen (*'intorno al 770'*-around 770) pinpointed exact moments.[17] Whilst any extrapolation, no matter how contrived, cannot be certain, it would seem that the arguments in favour of the completion of the *HR* before 774 would appear to be strong though not 'compelling'.[18] Linked to the difficulties with compositional dates, there is also debate about where Paul prepared and wrote the work. It could have been Pavia, Benevento or Montecassino (or Rome for that matter).[19] Ernesto Sestan in his discussion indicated that Paul could have had an interest in these matters regardless of whether he was a monk, about to become a monk, or even just living with monks.[20]

Usually it has been assumed, however, that it was composed either at the Beneventan court or within the precincts of Montecassino. This period, as we saw in Chapter 1, remains an obscure and indefinite time in Paul's life, and has by extension become embroiled in the rather fruitless debate about Paul's *monacazione.* Whether Paul did or did not 'belong' to the congregation of Montecassino and what this might mean, given that monastic 'exile' could be a very flexible concept, must remain arguable. It remains a matter of debate whether Montecassino was the only place that had the relevant intangible amount of 'monastic tranquillity and resources' to assist Paul in writing the work, but also whether it would have been the only locality with the tangible resource to guide and inform Paul in his mission.[21] At the outset we are disadvantaged by the issues of when and where the *HR*'s composition and creation was undertaken. We are, however, assisted uniquely by the extant dedicatory preface to the work already cited in our discussion of Paul's biography in Chapter 1. This dedicatory notice

16 Corbato, 'Paolo Diacono', p. 12. Crivellucci favours between 761 and 774 in Crivellucci, *Pauli Diaconi: HR*, p. xxxv.

17 *Narrators*, p. 339, but see p. 337. Mortensen, *Impero Romano*, p. 358.

18 *Cornford, The Idea of the Roman Past,* p.11.

19 See *Crivellucci*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi. Crivellucci does not exclude Pavia, but leans towards Benevento as the place of composition.

20 Sestan, *Qualque Aspetti*, p. 57.

21 See *Narrators*, p. 337 and Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past,* p. 8. An argument used by Waitz, see *MGH SrL*, p. 14.

opening the *HR* provides, as one might expect, a dedication to his patron, but also describes his approach to the commission. Paul commences with an address to both Arichis and Adelperga.[22]

It is noteworthy that he records, at this point, that it was he himself who had suggested that Adelperga read the *Breviarium* of Eutropius in the first place. He records her reaction to the work: *'... animo perlustrasses hoc tibi in eius textu praeter immodicam, etiam brevitatem displicuit, quia utpote vir gentilis in nullo divinae historiae cultusque nostri fecerit mentionem'* [You perceived in your mind that rather than extravagance, brevity in his text displeased you and because he was a pagan, in no place made mention of our divine history and religion].[23]

Having explained the genesis of his commission, Paul continued to describe how he intended to make good the absence of Christian history and to make the work 'more agreeable and a little more extensive' (*ut eandem historiam paulo latius congruis in locis extendem*).[24] Thus Paul had been 'extending passages and adapting some things from sacred scripture which have clarified the evidence of the narration of the times' (*aliquid ex sacrae textu scripturae, quo eius narrationis tempora evidentius clarerent aptarem*).[25] He continues in a crucial section that allows us to identify his prime *modus operandi* for the work:

> *extendens quaedam etiam temporibus eius congruentia ex divina lege interserens eandem sacratissimae historiae consonam reddidi. Et quia Eutropius usque ad Valentis tantummodo imperium narrationis suae in ea seriem deduxit, ego deinceps meo ex maiorum dictis stilo subsecutus sex in libellis superioribus in quantum potui haud dissimilibus usque ad Iustiniani Augusti tempora perveni.*
>
> extending and interspersing certain things from divine law, also consistent with his times [i.e. Eutropius'], I have given to the same (text) concordance with the most sacred history. And since Eutropius only brought the thread of his narrative up to the point of the empire of Valens. I, in my turn, inasmuch as I have been able, from the statements of the

22 *Narrators,* p. 347 and *Crivellucci*, p. 3.

23 *Crivellucci*, pp. 3-4 and Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past,* p. 40 (Cornford's translation).

24 *Crivellucci*, p. 4 '*... ut eandem historiam paulo latius congruis in locis extenderem*'.

25 *Crivellucci*, p. 4 '*... in locis extenderem aliquid ex sacrae textu scripturae, quo eius narrationis tempora evidentius clarerent aptarem'.*

> ancients following on closely in six books, in a manner, not at all unlike my predecessors, all the way to the times of Justinian Augustus.[26]

Finally, in conclusion, he indicates that if his sources and his health allow he will 'continue the same account as far as our own age' (*ad nostram usque aetate*).[27] Despite this statement, as we shall see subsequently, the work ends in 552, at the cusp of Justinian's re-conquest of Italy, which does not dovetail seamlessly with the interests and chronology of the *HL*, its alleged literary diptych. Paul would also appear to be somewhat uncertain, certainly at the point when he wrote the prologue, whether he would have either sufficient sources or support from his patron to conclude his work.[28] Whilst the preface is an important indication of Paul's initial approach to the *HR*'s creation, it should not, in common with prefaces generally, serve to obscure the important underlying structure of the work, which will prove to be rather more diagnostic of Paul's success in meeting his stated aims and methods. Let us now turn to the structure of the continuation.

The *HR* is a composite text. If one excludes the opening prologue, it is divided into three principal elements: first, what has been called a 'backward' extension added to the original work at the start;[29] secondly, the ten books of the original *Breviarium* of Eutropius with relatively modest amendments and interventions by Paul; and, thirdly, the six added books, which for convenience can be termed the continuation, which shall form the main focus of comment in this section. Before we reach this point, we shall first consider how the backward extension operates and what it tells us about Paul's approach; and, secondly, analyse the nature of Paul's amendments to the Eutropian core.

The original work of Eutropius commences with Romulus and Remus and the legendary foundation of Rome in 753 BCE.[30] Paul pushes the story back still further, adding 670 words of text (which equates to 29 lines in the edition of Crivellucci) to the start, and in so doing, provides a more general 'Italian' context. Thus Paul commenced with the rule of the mythical Ianus (*'Primus in Italia, ut quibusdam placet, regnavit Ianus'* – According to some, Ianus ruled first in Italy).[31] Subsequently he turns to the successor of Ianus,

26 *Crivellucci*, pp. 3-4. Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past*, p. 41 (Cornford's translation with my amendment). See *Narrators*, pp. 347 and 357.

27 *Crivellucci*, p. 4.

28 Mortensen, *Impero Romano*, pp. 363 and 364.

29 *Narrators*, p. 348.

30 Bird, *Eutropius: Breviarium,* p. 2.

31 *Crivellucci*, p. 5

Saturn, the son of Jupiter, who had come to Italy, we are told, after flight from Greece (*Deinde Saturnus, Iovem filium e Grecia fugiens*).[32] Thereafter the extension is structured in a linear fashion keeping an 'Italian' trajectory. Notwithstanding this perspective, Paul's mytho-historical material, which proceeds to consider Saturn, Picus, and then Faunus, noticeably merges into material on the area of Rome prior to its foundation.[33] In this regard he refers to the origins of the *Iulii* family, the creation of Latin literacy, and the foundation of Alba 'amongst the hills where Rome now stands' (*inter montes ubi nunc Roma est possuit*).[34] The Italian/Roman focus is not, however, retained throughout this section and, no doubt with an eye on his promise in the dedication, Paul links this early mytho-historical section with a ten-line passage that attempts to provide a chronological setting for the comments. Thus, we learn that whilst Latinus ruled in Latium, the Greeks had captured Troy and 'Tautanes' ruled the Assyrians and 'Thous' the Egyptians (*regnante tamen Latino, qui Latinam linguam correxit et de suo nomine appellavit, Troia a Grecis capta est, cum apud Hebreos Labdon tertium sui principatus annum ageret et apud Assyrios Tautanes, apud Aegytios, Thous regnaret*).[35] It is, as Paul indicates, exactly 4019 years since the world's creation, 1777 since the biblical flood, 404 years before the foundation of Rome, or 406 years before the first ancient Olympiad (*expletis a mundi principio annis quattuor milibus decem et novem, a diluvio annis mille. DCLXXVII, a nativitate Abraham et qudragesimo tertio anno Nini regis Assyriorum annis .DCCCXXXV., a nativitate Mosi annnis .CCCCX, ante Urbem autem conditam annis .CCCCIIII, ante primam quoque olympiadem annis .CCCCVI*).[36] The chronology does not entirely work since 404 years before the foundation of Rome would equate to 1157 BCE and 406 years before the first Olympiad (i.e. 776 BCE) would theoretically take us to 1182 BCE. Also mentioned in this passage are exact chronological markers for the birth of Abraham, the rule of Ninus of Assyria, and the birth of Moses.[37]

With his next passage Paul returns to Italy and the activities of Aeneas, Ascanius, and others. There are, however, amongst this material two further references to biblical matters in which Paul remarks: *'Deinde Latinus*

32 *Crivellucci*, p. 5.

33 *Crivellucci*, pp. 5-6.

34 *'... iste praesidium Albanorum inter montes ubi nunc Roma est possuit' ... Crivellucci*, pp. 6-9.

35 *Crivellucci*, p. 6. All from Jerome suggests Crivellucci.

36 He does not, however, attempt a precise before Christ date. Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past,* p. 96.

37 The notional year would appear to be 1157 BCE. According to Crivellucci this is taken from Jerome.

Silvius annis quadraginta, quo etiam tempore apud Hebreos David regnabat' (Then Latinus Silvius ruled for 50 years, at the time when David was ruling the Hebrews).[38] And *'... Procas Silvius ... qui regnavit annis. XXIII ... cum apud Hebreos Azarias in Iuda et Hieroboam in Israel regnarent'* (Procas Silvius ruled for twenty-three years ... when amongst the Hebrews, Azariah ruled in Judah and Jeroboam in Israel).[39] Finally, by way of chronological markers there is equation of the time of Homer with the rule of Agrippa Silvius.[40]

As an overall proportion of the work this early extension adds chronological depth to events on the Italian peninsula and a number of relatively minor notices with regard to Judaeo-Christian themes. All that has been achieved, however, is a slight re-orientation of the narrative of Eutropius by providing an earlier pre-history to the foundation of Rome, together with a number of structural markers which link these events to either momentous developments in the East, such as the capture of Troy by the Greeks, the careers of Aeneas and Ascanius, or to specific individuals from the Old Testament. It is rather arguable whether this section, albeit prominent as the opening of the work, really can or indeed was intended to shift the main focus of the global work away from Rome and towards Italy. One might also consider that this section of the work provided Paul with the most useful juncture to add deeper and greater details from Judaeo-Christian sources and traditions.[41] It is clear, however, as we shall see with the following discussion of the main core of the work, that Paul's conscious editing does not entail an overhaul of the prime perspective of the original work and thus, even here in the backward extension, his additions are more relevant to a comprehensive context for a pre-history of Rome than a re-working which places notices of Christian interest at the forefront of the narrative. Such care is also evident when we move to consider the second part of the work, the Eutropian core which represents Books I to X of the total sixteen.

38 *Crivellucci*, p. 8, from Jerome.

39 *Crivellucci*, p. 9, from Jerome.

40 *Crivellucci*, p. 8. Reminiscent of Isidore of Seville. See Sestan, *Qualche aspetto*, pp. 55-58.

41 Crivellucci notes only one direct borrowing from the Old Testament, the story of Judith and Holofernes. See *Crivellucci*, p. 16. However, most Old Testament references are mediated through Jerome.

Table i The Divisions of the *Breviarium* of Eutropius

Book	Dates	Number of Years
I	753-390 BCE	362
II	390-241	149
III	241-202	39
IV	202-104	98
V	105-180	25
VI	79-44	35
VII	44 BCE-96 CE	140
VIII	96-235	139
IX	235-305	70
X	305-364	59

The *Breviarium* divides the 1117 years between the legendary foundation of Rome in 753 BCE when it commenced and the death of Jovian (r. 363-364) in February 364 CE into ten books of varying length, as shown in Table I above. As can be seen from Table I, Paul does not interfere with the Eutropian structure of the first ten books. As a consequence, the books commence and conclude at recognisably significant points. As we noted above, Book I commences with the births of Romulus and Remus and the foundation of Rome before moving chronologically ahead in concise sections. In this fashion, Eutropius deals with 501 years in just three books bringing his work up to the battle of Zama between the Romans and the Carthaginians in 202 BCE. Subsequently, we also see Book IX, for instance, end with the 'splendid retirement' of Diocletian (r. 284-305) at *Spalatum*/ Split.[42] The narrative resumes in Book X with the careers of Constantius Chlorus (r. 293-306) and Galerius (r. 305-311).[43] The final book concludes with the death of Jovian in 364, to whom the work was originally dedicated.[44]

Given that Paul had continued to depend upon Eutropian divisions in the first ten books, his task was to interpose interpolations and amendments which would not result in a fundamental revision of the text nor one where considerable additions might render the original work meaningless. The difficulty of this delicate task should not be underestimated. Acquiring the right balance in this regard was made trickier by the rapidity with which Eutropius dealt with his themes and subjects. As one commentator

42 Bird, *Eutropius: Breviarium,* p. 63 and *Crivellucci*, pp. 138-139.

43 Bird, *Eutropius: Breviarium*, pp. 63-64.

44 For discussion of the structure of the original *Breviarium* see Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past*, pp.67-69.

remarked, Paul 'tailor[ed] his amplifications in such a way as to avoid modifying the Eutropian core,' but he also orchestrated the sources available to him to embellish and ornament the text.[45] It is, however, at the same time important to emphasise that this section is not merely a 'ten book quotation'.[46] Indeed, when one looks in detail at Paul's additions one can see that the interventions into the text range across nearly all of the books. The one exception in this regard is Book VIII, which deals with the period 96 to 235 CE. Table II below demonstrates both the number of interpolations and also the total word count for these additions:

Table ii Paul's interventions into the *Breviarium* (*pace* Crivellucci)[47]

Book	Years	Total Instances of Interpolations	One Word Interpolations	One small phrase interpolations	Word Count
I	753-390 BCE	30	5	3	473
II	390-241	20	-	3	652
III	241-202	38	4	4	860
IV	202-104	20	-	1	1136
V	105-80	5	-	-	368
VI	79-44	13	1	1	739
VII	44 BCE-96 CE	11	1	1	714
VIII	96-235	0	-	-	0
IX	235-305	13	-	2	313
X	305-364	4*	-	1	124
Totals	**1117**	**154**	**11**	**16**	**5399**

Cumulatively the total additional word-count equates to over 5300 words or 154 instances.[48] If one were to exclude the relatively short interventions of either one word or one small phrase there are still 129 sections of

45 *Narrators*, p. 349.

46 *Narrators*, p. 349. Only the eighth book of Eutropius is left unaltered by Paul.

47 One word or more equates to one instance. One numeral = one word. * Crivellucci's edition regards one short interpolation with suspicion, p. 147. ** 155 with the backward extension of 670 words equating to 6069 as a total.

48 This figure excludes the backward extension, which would produce an enhanced word count of 6069 words. Cornford enumerates 198 interpolations, which amounts to 'roughly 3000 words'. Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past,* pp. 102-103. Cornford's methodology for the interpolations varies from mine, in that where a continuous passage is derived from the same author but from different parts of the same source, Cornford counts the interpolation as two instances.

significance across nine of the ten books, ranging from a minimum of three instances in Book X to 34 in Book III.

With Paul's reputation vis-à-vis this work as a mere compiler, considerable comment has focused upon the range of materials that Paul used for his additions. It is worth considering this in detail because it will shine a light upon the methods and thought processes behind Paul's work as a historian. Crivellucci identified 46 sources used by Paul throughout both the *HR*'s Eutropian core and Paul's own continuation. Within the orbit of the Eutropian core, as we can see in Table III, Paul used the following sources:

Table iii Paul's usage of sources in the Eutropian core (*pace* Crivellucci)[49]

Year →	**753**			**202**		**80 BCE**		**96ce**		**364**	**Occurrences**
Book → Source ↓	**I**	**II**	**III**	**IV**	**V**	**VI**	**VII**	**VIII**	**IX**	**X**	
Orosius–Historiarum	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	71
Jerome Chronicon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	37
The Old Testament	*										
Epitome De Caesaribus							*		*	*	19
Jordanes: HR	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	10
Frontinus–Stategemmata		*									5
Aurelius Victor – De Viris Illustribus	*										4
Livy – Ab Urbe Condita	*	*	*								3
Pliny Naturalis Historiae		*	*								2
Solinus – Collectanea Rerum Memoribilium		*	*	*	*	*					2
Virgil Aeneid	*										2
Totals											**156**

As Table iii demonstrates, Paul's use of materials across the Eutropian core is not uniform. There is clearly a greater proportional use of the works of [Paulus] Orosius (*c.* 375-(after) 418) and Jerome (*c.* 347-420) than all the other

49 See *Crivellucci*, pp. xxxviii-xxxix for identification of the source range.

authors combined.[50] Thus, whilst the *Historia Romana* of Jordanes (fl. 550s) is utilised in nine of the ten books by Paul, there remains a preference for Orosius and Jerome. The preference here should not surprise us. In the first place, both authors and sources have impeccable orthodox credentials and in the second place, their notices allowed Paul to both broaden the scope of the Eutropian core, and also provide more direction to his narrative through the inclusion of Judaeo-Christian material, which, of course, as we have seen, was the stated aim of the enterprise in the first place. The difficulty for Paul, however, was to extend the *Breviarium*, provide sufficient meaningful additions to be noted, but at the same time, to not overwhelm the entire work itself. His approach can be highlighted by how he applied his additions to the text itself. Material was not merely tacked onto the end of each of the Eutropian books: with the retention of the Eutropian chronology Paul had to interpose his additions within the body of the work. These could be quite modest in terms of both content and intent. Three examples will suffice here to illustrate this. Right at the start of Book I proper three additional words are added: *igitur* (therefore), *ut preamissum est* (as it is told) and the numeral *ccccxix* to add clarification to the year after which Troy had fallen. Thus Paul's passage compared to Eutropius appears as follows:

Eutropius *Breviarium*	**Paul the Deacon *Historia Romana***
Romanum imperium quo neque ab exordio ullum fere minus neque incrementis toto orbe amplius, humana potest memoria recordari, a Romulo exordium habet, qui Reae Silviae, Vestatis virginis, filius et, quantum putatus est. Martis cum Remo fratre uno partu editus est. Is cum inter pastores latrocineratur decem et octo annus natus urbem exiguam in Palatino monte constituit XI Kal.Maias, Olympiadis sextae anno tertio, post Troiae excidium trecentesimo nonagesimo quarto ut qui plurimum minimunque tradunt anno	*Romanum* ***igitur*** *imperium quo neque ab exordio ullum fere minus neque incrementis toto orbe amplius, humana potest memoria recordari, a Romulo exordium habet, qui Reae Silviae, Vestatis virginis,* ***ut preamissum est****, filius et, quantum putatus est. Martis cum Remo fratre uno partu editus est. Is cum inter pastores latrocineratur XVIII annus natus urbem exiguam in Palatino monte constituit XI Kal.Maias, Olympiadis sextae* ***CCCCXIX*** *post Troiae excidium*

The passage may be rendered into English as:

> The Roman Empire (than which human memory can recall scarcely any smaller in origin or greater in its growth throughout the whole world)

50 For the contrasts between Orosius and Paul see Cervani, '*Romanità e Cristianesimo*', pp. 23-24 and Bianchi, *Appunti sulla HR*, pp. 5-27.

> derives its origins from Romulus, the son of Rhea Silvia, a Vestal Virgin, and, as was believed of Mars. He was brought forth in one birth with his brother Remus. While leading the life of a robber among the shepherds and at the age of eighteen he founded a small city on the Palatine Hill on 21st April in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, in the 394th year after the destruction of Troy – according to those who give the earliest and latest dates.

Paul's first amendment to the text here, the addition of *igitur* in the first line may be simply rendered as 'therefore, accordingly, consequently or then', allowing the first statement of Eutropius to connect to Paul's last remarks in his backward extension which mention the abandonment of Romulus and Remus and their salvation courtesy of a wolf. His second intervention would appear to be a straightforward attempt to distance himself from the plain statement of divine origin 'so it has been advanced' or 'asserted', leaving a sense of caution about the details provided themselves. Finally, with the use of the numeral *CCCCXIX*, we see a significant amendment. The text of Eutropius highlights the importance of this event by the use of a triple dating formula; thus we have the exact calendrical date (*XI.Kal.Maias*) i.e. April 21st; a computation based on the Olympiad, i.e. the third year of the sixth Olympiad, which equates to 753 BCE; and, 394 years after the notional Fall of Troy (i.e. 1148 BCE) which brings us to 754-753 BCE. Eutropius also refers to the variance in his authorities. Paul retains this whole passage but equates the Olympiad with 409 years after the fall of Troy, which would (were Paul to also assume the year 1148 BCE as the exact year of the fall) equate to 739 BCE. However, if we recall his chronological passage where he earlier provides a list of dates, Paul's point of calibration would appear to have actually been 1157 BCE, which would then, finally, provide a notional date of 748 BCE. Both dates are actually incorrect and it is interesting here that in the space of one early section of this work he should be apparently contradictory. Finally, it is worth noting that Paul does not make reference to the various authorities alluded to by Eutropius. In total, these relatively simple amendments could be noted and reproduced for nearly all of the first ten books, and at the most banal level allow us to see that Paul does undertake a forensic evaluation of the original work and alter materials or sentences where he wishes to do so.

In terms of additional word-count Book I has a rather modest, mid-range total,as Table II indicates. More numerically significant in terms of word-count are Books III, IV, V and VII. The last of these books deals with the period from the assassination of Julius Caesar (100-44 BCE) and the

subsequent civil war up to the death of the emperor Domitian (81-96 CE) in 96 CE. Apart from only two small amendments, there are four lengthier additions. These are interposed in a section that describes the defeat of Mark Antony (83-30 BCE) and Cleopatra VII Philopator (69-30 BCE); the birth of Christ during the period of Augustan peace; a lengthy section borrowed from [Sextus] Aurelius Victor (*c.* 320-390) on Julio-Claudian politics; and, an interpolation on the crucifixion.[51] In terms of how Paul's methods are revealed, we shall look at the second of these passages. Paul's addition adds further details to capitula viii of Eutropius, which lists the various periods of rule of Augustus, thus extending the passage from four lines (in the Crivellucci edition) to fifteen lines. Paul's addition reads:

denique [*cum de Oriente victor reversus esset Urbemque triplici triumpho ingressus esset; tunc primum Augustus eo quod rempublicam auxerit, consalutatus est atque ex tunc summam rerum potestatum quam Greci monarchiam vocant, adeptus est*] (**Orosius section i** : VI : 20.1-2). [*His diebus, trans Tiberim de taberna meritoria fons olei e terra exundavit per totum diem largissimo rivo fluxit*] (**Orosius section ii** : VI: 18.34). {*Significans ex gentibus gratiam Christi*} (**Jerome** a19761?). *Tunc etiam* [*circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus circa solum apparuit*] (**Orosius section iii**: VI: 20.5). [*Igitur cum quadregesimo secundo anno firmissimam verissimamque pacem Caesar composuisset*] (**Orosius section iv**: VI: 22.5) {*Christus dominus in Bethleem*} (**Jerome**) [*natus est cuius adventus pax ista famulata est*] (**Orosius section iv** VI: 22.5).[52]

51 See Crivellucci, *HR*, pp. 99-101. The passage from Aurelius Victor adds 134 words to the discussion.

52 Crivellucci, *HR*, p. 101. The full passages of Orosius are:

i VI:18.34 '*orans urbem ingressus est ut in perpetuum tribunicias potestatis esset, a senatu decretum est. His diebus trans Tiberim e taberna meritoria fond olei terra exundavit ac per totum diem largissimo rivo fluxit'.*

ii VI:20 1-2 *'Anno ab urbe condita DCCXXV ipso imperatore Caesare Augusto quinquies et L.Apuleio consulibus Caesar victor ab oriente rediens, VIII idus Ianurias urbem triplici trimpho ingressus est ac tunc primum ipse Iani portas sopitis finitisque omnibus bellis civiibus clausit. Hoc die primum Augustus consalutatus est; quod nomen cunctis antea (inviolatum) et usque ad nunc ceteris inausum dominis, atque ex eodem die summa rerum ac potestum penes unum esse coepit et mansit, quod Graeci monarchiam vocant'.*

iii VI:20.5 '*... hora circiter tertia reperto liquid ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus urbem solis ambiit ...*'

iv VI:22.5 '*Igitur eo tempore, id est eo anno quo firmissimam verissimamque pacem ordinatione Dei Caesar conposuit natus est Christus cuius adventui pax ista famulata est'.*

See Karl Zangemeister, *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1889).

Apart from the conjunctival additions of *'denique'* and *'tunc etiam'* this entire passage has been borrowed from a combination of four sections of Orosius and possibly two short notices of statements of Jerome.[53] Whilst the sentiments of the material may originate with Orosius, and as the section above shows, there was both direct and literal transcription, we can still see Paul's editorial hand at work. In the first place, the sequence of use (i.e. VI:20.1-2, VI:18.34, VI:20.5 and VI:22.5) of Orosius is not consecutive in the original text. Secondly, as noted by Crivellucci in his comment, the first passage from Orosius is abbreviated and amended in such a way as to make the particular passage a new abbreviated paraphrase of Paul. We may say then with some assurance that here, just in one section of Book VI, there is more in the way of editorial amendment than has been characterised by scholarly commentators previously. Thereafter, however, particularly with Books VIII and X (see Table II above), Paul's interventions are rather modest,with no amendments at all in Book VIII and only four in Book X. Both Goffart and Cornford noted the absence of additions in Book VIII, but did not suggest reasons as to why the period 96 CE to 235 CE should merit this treatment.[54]

Although further analysis in similar fashion could be undertaken across the Eutropian core, it is still possible to draw some provisional conclusions about what we have discovered so far. Where warranted, for example, with the birth and crucifixion of Christ, Paul was content to interpose additional materials from Biblical or Christian history.[55] Some commentators such as Sestan, in his discussion of Paul's additions, have expressed surprise about certain episodes that are not mentioned, for instance, the persecution of Diocletian (r. 284-305), but one should evaluate the composite text as a whole.[56] If one does, it is evident that, notwithstanding his indication in the dedication, Paul had no original intention to create a work whose overall balance is tilted in favour of the progress of Christianity. Whilst one can speculate here from absence, presumably Paul's knowledge of his sources made such 'root and branch' editing of the Eutropian core otiose. There were other materials which would shed light upon this subject. At the

53 Although these are so short as to render doubts as to why Paul would need to quote from Jerome since, for example, Paul would have known that Christ was born in Bethlehem without the benefit of Jerome's notices.

54 *Narrators*, p. 349: 'Book VIII is reproduced intact', and Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past*, p. 121: 'Paul made no additions whatsoever in Book VIII …'

55 See Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past,* p. 111. Paul did not have 'qualms about surrounding the core of Eutropius with examples of Christian or Biblical history'.

56 Sestan, *Qualche aspetti*, pp. 62-63.

same time, there are indications of Paul's development as a writer. First, his use of Orosius, in particular, reflects his penchant, later expressed, for portents, omens, and anecdotes; secondly, his willingness to use and benefit from a number of primary sources; thirdly, his structural replication of the bridging of material between books used to greater extent in the *HL*. All these features are redolent of his subsequent editorial choices. His main intention and editorial choice for the Eutropian core, however, was to render a new, seamless text which did not jar the reader's notice via the addition of lengthy and artificial digression. The end result was a unified text 'that read independently … [It] would have appeared as a unified whole with no clear distinction between Paul's additions and continuations.'[57] Paul's synthesis of Eutropius and others succeeded in convincing readers that he had merely lightly brushed the Eutropian core with small amendments. The most significant amendment, of course, was the six book continuation which he had added to the original work. Here we are able to consider further Paul's structural arrangements, his use of sources, and how he developed strategies to satisfy the commission of his patrons.

Paul's six books and their basic structural framework is shown in the table below. Where Eutropius dealt with 1117 years across ten books, it is striking that Paul's continuation deals with only 188 years across six books.

Table iv The basic structure of Paul's Continuation

Book	Period Covered	Years	Chapters
XI	364-392(383)	28	17
XII	(388)392-409	17	17
XIII	409-450	41	18
XIV	450-457	7	19
XV	457-493	33	20
XVI	491-552	61	23

The chronological organisation, however, needs to be placed within the particular parameters of the work and the more detailed table below sets out the full structural grid of the work by chapters and books. At the outset, it should be stressed that whilst the organisation of the continuation into books is based on early manuscript witnesses, and thus likely to replicate Paul's intentions, the sub-divisions into *capitula* have less authority. Further work would be necessary using the 153 extant manuscripts, and especially

57 Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past,* p. 111.

the early Italian manuscript survivals to solidify the chapter sub-divisions. Even so, a quick comparison between a relatively early incunabula/late-manuscript copy such as *Manchester lat.338* demonstrates a symmetry between the *capitula* of modern editors and divisions between discrete passages of greater antiquity.

Table v Structural Grid of the *HR* (L = Lines W = Words)

Chapters	XII 392-409		XII 392-409		XIII 409-450		XIV 450-457		XV 457-493		XVI 491-552	
	L	W	L	W	L	W	L	W	L	W	L	W
1	18	138	15	113	23	178	13	89	17	116	4	25
2	9	63	11	80	9	70	13	91	15	96	12	83
3	5	35	10	77	12	96	16	130	12	88	7	47
4	7	52	23	188	2	13	7	56	12	93	14	106
5	8	54	46	368	12	90	13	101	14	97	13	97
6	12	85	7	53	10	80	11	87	17	130	6	42
7	13	106	5	39	9	80	9	75	12	95	13	101
8	7	54	5	32	9	68	11	88	14	112	11	85
9	9	68	8	57	20	147	16	132	12	93	9	68
10	10	75	22	187	17	128	10	73	19	143	16	114
11	17	130	9	74	13	107	14	112	12	97	15	102
12	11	78	23	182	19	133	13	112	17	125	9	63
13	11	89	22	179	8	67	17	146	7	56	16	126
14	9	64	9	69	19	153	21	161	22	165	6	44
15	25	192	12	103	4	30	11	85	22	170	9	67
16	17	131	15	112	5	36	16	126	14	106	12	93
17	8	60	16	129	22	163	12	85	15	120	11	81
18					5	35	9	75	13	99	15	103
19							12	87	15	103	17	125
20									14	92	11	77
21											3	26
22											20	153
23											10	78
Totals	196	1474	258	2042	218	1674	232	1911	295	2196	259	1906
Line & Word Total			1458 lines (114 chapters)						11,203 words			

Accordingly, any structural assertion based on chapters should be treated as provisional at this stage. A careful scrutiny of the structural grid reveals a number of significant features. In the first place, as noted above there is greater economy of treatment in the original work of Eutropius than in Paul's

continuation. Roughly speaking, each book deals with the events of thirty years, with the significant exceptions of Book XIV (only seven years) and Book XVI (which covers just over sixty years, but in a somewhat incomplete fashion).[58] Given this variance in chronological treatment and what one might call depth, the questions that we should pose in approaching the continuation will include, for example, can we identify authorial divisions that distinguish Paul's material from that of Eutropius; does Paul use or embark upon the addition of lengthy digressions; how does he integrate Judeo-Christian events within the overall framework of the work; are these successful i.e. do they conform with his stated aim in the dedication; and, finally, despite his apparent reliance upon his sources, do we find the sort of original touches that we find elsewhere in his works? In order to approach these linked issues, we shall commence with an overview of his source use, before we consider a number of structural devices and conclude this chapter with a brief evaluation of the thematic arrangements.

Whilst Paul's style in the six books does not greatly deviate from the first ten books in terms of his subject matters, as the work progresses, his treatment becomes increasingly independent from its original Eutropian model. Not only does he now lose his firm anchor of Eutropius, but the task at hand required Paul to not only marshal a varied array of sources, but to also attempt to integrate multiple narrative threads into a coherent, but not necessarily linear narrative. The difficulty here is exemplified by the range of sources themselves, which can be set out as the following table demonstrates.

58 Thus the variance for Paul's section runs from seven to 61 years, whereas for the original work of Eutropius it ranges from 25 to 363 years. Clearly then Paul's scale of treatment does vary and this difference highlights an aspect of Paul's independence from a total adherence to a Eutropian model.

Table vi Sources of material in the six-book Continuation[59]

Chapters	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
1	Oros.548 & 549. Jerome 2380. Epit.43.4	Oros.557-60. epit.48.1.6	Oros.581-3	Prosp.442	Jord.Rom.259	
2	Oros.549. Jerome 2382-3		Oros.585-6	Prosp.444	Jord.Get.45	LP Hormis.82. Symm.76
3	Oros.548-50.Jerome2382		Prosp.419-20.		Ennod.572	LP. Symm 81
4	Jerome.2387	Prosp.396. Oros.560-1		Jord.Get.56	Cassiod.472	
5	Oros.550.epit.45.8-9	Epit.48.2-5 8-19		Prosp.455	Cassiod.472	LPHormis.82.
6	Jerome.2381. epit.45.5-6		Prosp.422	Prosp.454.Jord.Get.36	Jord.Rom.239.	LPHormis.85
7	Oros.550.Jord.Rom.238		Prosp.423	Jord.Get.40		
8	Oros.551.Jerome.2391	Epit.48,49.20	Prosp.423	Jord.Get.41	Jord.Get.46	LPJohn.87
9	Oros.551-3	Oros.563 & 567	Prosp.424-5.	Jord.Get.42	Cassiod.476. An.Vales.57.Ennod.586	LPJohn87
10		Oros.564-6	Prosp.427		Jord.Get.46	Jord.Get.58
11	Epit.46.2.Oros.553-4.Jord. Rom.238.Jerome.2395		Prosp.432 & 435	Jord.Get.42	Jord.Get.50	Jord.Get.59
12	Oros.552-554	Oros.567-70	Prosp.436-7		Jord.Get.52	Jord.Get.59
13	Jerome.2390.Prosper.385	Oros.573.575 & 576	Prosp.439	Jod.Get.42	Jord.Get.56	LP. Agap.94
14	Epit.47.3.Oros.555		Prosp.440		Jord.Get.57	
15	Oros.555-6.	Oros.576 & 585. Prosp.412.	Prosp.441	Jord.Rom.239. Prosp.455	Jord.Get.57	LP.Silv.97

59 This is a combination and distillation of the sources identified by both Droysen and Crivellucci, but it removes any uncertain attributions.

Chapters	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
16	Epit.47.6-7. Oros.556 epit.47.4-5	Oros.571, 572 & 576	Prosp.442	Prosp.455	Jord.Get.57	LP.Silv.97
17		Oros.576-9			Jord.Get.57	LP.Silv.98
18				Gregor.Dial.III.4.	Ennod.592.Cassiod.500 An.Vales.67	LP.Silv.99
19				Jord. Rom.259.	Marcell.494.	LP Vig.102
20					Jord. Get.57.	Jord. Rom242
21						*LP* Vig 104
22						Jord.Rom242
23						LP Vig.107

Where there is clear dependence on these materials Paul will often use paraphrase or omit sections which do not suit his purpose. This is most interesting when one considers Paul's stated aim of composing the continuation and the moral didactic basis for Orosius's work. One example will suffice here to show how Paul used Orosius VII.32 for his Book XI. Orosius's lengthy chapter has fifteen sections which deal with the assumption of power by Valentinian I in 364, the Arianism of Valens, the curious rainfall of wool in Gaul, and the new danger of the Burgundians. Looking at just the first eight sections and the pattern of use,Paul combines the opening details with further information from Jerome with regard to the pedigree of Valentinian and his refusal to sacrifice to the gods under Julian, his association of Valens into power, the curious wool-rain, and subsequently the baptism of Valens. This looks like:

i. *Anno ab Urbe condita millesimo centesimo octavo decimo Valentinianus tricesimus octavus, e Pannonia Civalensi editus, cum esset tribunus scutariorum, apud Niceam Augustus appellatus fratrem Valentem Constantinopolim in communionem regni adsumpsit. Huius pater Gratianus, mediocri stirpe ortus apud Cibalas, funarius appellatus est, eo quod venalicium funem portanti quinque milites nequierint extorquere; eo merito adscitus in militiam usque ad praefecturae praetorianae potentiam conscendit; ob cuius apud milites commendationem Valentiniano imperium resistenti inlatum est.* ***Qui cum sub Iuliano Augusto christianitatis integram fidem gereret, cum, ut dictum est, scutariorum tribunus esset, iussus ab imperatore sacrilego aut immolare idolis aut militia excedere sponte discessit; nec mora Iuliano interfecto Iovianoque mortuo, qui pro nomine Christi amiserat tribunatum, in locum persecutoris sui accepit imperium. Qui cum iam anno tertio imperii cum Valente fratre ageret, Gratianum filium necdum bene puberem oratu socrus et uxoris Augustum creavit.***

ii. ***Eodem anno apud Atrebatas vera lana de nubibus pluviae mixta defluxit.*** *Constantinopolim grande mirae magnitudinis decidens nonnullos hominum extinxit. His diebus Procopius apud Constantinopolim tyrannidem invadens apud Frigiam Salutarem extinctus est plurimique eius partis caesi atque proscripti sunt. Circa haec tempora terraemotu per totum orbem facto ita mare litus egressum est ut Siciliae multarumque insularum urbes concussae et subrutae innumerabiles populos ruinis oppresserint.*

iii. ***Valens interea ab Eodoxio Arrianae hereseos episcopo baptizatus in saevissimam heresim dilapsus est conatusque catholicos persequi fratris auctoritate conpressus est. Ea tempestate Athanaricus rex Gothorum Christianos in gente sua crudelissime persecutus ad coronam martyrii sublimauit.***[60]

60 Bold sections are those from Orosius. See Crivellucci, *HR*, pp. 151-152.

Clearly examples of this sort of selective use of source material – often paraphrased or lightly edited use of Orosius – could be extended both in regard to Orosius, but also to other identifiable sources that Paul consulted. Paul's abbreviation and simplification of Orosius, in particular, is a feature of the *HR* that has long been recognised.[61] Elsewhere Paul paraphrased and integrated his sources, amplified them, or even freely borrowed.[62] Paul used 'a combination of simple pastiche and paraphrase with … more complex combinations'.[63] Also significant is an example where Paul's version has amended and improved the language of his original source.[64] We have considered Paul's use of Orosius at some length, both in respect of Paul's interpolations and of his continuation. It is noteworthy in respect of Paul's source use that once Orosius's work can no longer supply material Paul moves on to use (amongst other materials) Prosper, Jordanes, and the *Liber Pontificalis* (see Table VI above).[65] The *Liber Pontificalis* is one source that heavily influences Book XVI and, as Cornford points out, Paul inserts 'often lengthy quotations from the *Liber Pontificalis* including one from the life of Silverius (536-7) that runs for no less than forty-seven lines in Crivellucci's edition'.[66] In the compilation and juxtaposition of all his sources and even where there is more selection than editing of his material, Paul has created his own interpretation of the events between Jovian and Justinian. His editorial control remains clear.

Having considered Paul's use of sources, which mirrors the first Eutropian core, we shall now consider a number of structural components of this part of the work which, as we shall see in Chapter 5, are early examples of Paul's writing strategies. There are four features to review briefly here: first, chronological inaccuracy; secondly, the use of bridging passages between the books; thirdly, the use of anecdotes and lively passages; and fourthly, personal interventions into the text. Paul's lack of accurate chronology is a feature of his later *HL,* which continues to frustrate commentators. His

61 *Crivellucci*, pp. 151-152 (*abbreviato e semplificato* i.e. abbreviated and simplified).

62 *Crivellucci*, p. 155 (Orosius and Jerome *parafrasato e integrato* i.e. paraphrased and integrated); p.167 (*amplificato* i.e. amplified), where he suggests that Paul has spliced Jerome with Paulinus's *Vita s.Ambrosii* with Prosper and Ambrose's *De Spiritu Sancto Libri* iii; p.154 (*alquanto liberamente*); and p.156 (*liberamente*), both Orosius.

63 Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past,* p. 145.

64 *Crivellucci*, p. 159: 'More sober and elegant than the original'.

65 See Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past*, pp. 126-144, which deals with all relevant sources in detail. Such discussion here would only repeat Cornford's careful analysis and is thus avoided.

66 Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past*, p. 141, referring to (although not noting) Crivellucci, *HR*, pp. 233-235. The source-use commences with the phrase '*Porro dum Agapitus pontifex …*' at XVI.15 to the end of XVI.18 with the phrase '*… in qua et exulans obiit'*.

vagueness with regard to chronology and specific dates is a charge that is often levelled at Paul. The *HR*, however, does not simply fit this pattern. On the one hand there are twelve *interea* [meanwhile]; 23 *deinde/inter haec/his diebus/eodem tempore* etc; and, only two *eodem anno* [in the same year].[67] But on the other hand he provides exact dates, most notably at the start of each book of his continuation i.e. XI, XII, XIV and XV; additionally, and most significantly, for Book XVI he provided a lengthy dating clause explaining his use of the Christian era.[68]

As we have seen above with the discussion of the structural parameters, the six-book continuation divides its subject matter unevenly. The chronological divisions employed are at first glance somewhat curious. However, Paul uses these divisions to drive forward his narrative so that his books are linked both in terms of structure and subject matter. These 'bridging passages' continue themes and events of the previous book. Thus Paul links the end of Book XI with the start of Book XII by highlighting the conflict between Theodosius I and Magnus Maximus and the conclusive battle of Aquileia in the second chapter of Book XII.[69] Paul also employs this device to connect Books XII and XIII and the latter with the pivotal Book XIV.[70] In this fashion the narrative embodies a continuous and on-going story rather than a series of closed (although interconnected) imperial biographies.[71]

Lively passages and personal interventions into the text are important features of the *HL* and this is where we might expect to find the most in the way of independent input or additions by Paul.Unlike the *HL,* his 'lively' anecdotal material is noticeably restricted, even reticent. Those sections of his text which do not or cannot be identified as material from elsewhere are rather limited. Crivellucci, for instance, suggested that three chapters

67 All references are Crivellucci, *HR: interea* [meanwhile][12] at XI.3 (p. 152), XI.9 (p. 155), XI.16 (p. 160), XII.10 (p. 168), XII.11 (p. 169), XII.13 (p. 170), XII.16 (p. 173), XIII.2 (p. 177), XIV.2 (p. 190), XV.20 (p. 224), XVI.12 (p. 231), XVI.14 (p. 233).*deinde/inter haec/his diebus/eodem tempore* etc. [24] at XI.3 (p. 153), XI.4 (p. 153), XI.13 (p. 157), XII.12 (p. 169), XII.14 (p. 172), XII.17 (p. 174), XIII.4 (p. 178), XIII.6 (p. 179), XIII.7 (p. 180), XIII.10 (p. 182), XIII.11 (p. 183), XIII.12 (p. 184), XIII.13 (p. 185), XIII.15 (p. 187) XIII.16 (p. 187), XIV.5 (p. 193), XV.1 (p. 206), XV.2 (p. 206), XV.3 (p. 208), XV.5 (p. 210), XI.3 (p. 226), XVI.4 (p. 226), XVI.7 (p. 228), XVI.10 (p. 229).
eodem anno [in the same year] [2] at XI.2 (p.152) and XVI.22 (p.237).

68 Crivellucci, *HR*, pp. 151, 162, 190, 204, and 225.

69 Crivellucci, *HR*, pp. 162-163. For one modern narrative see Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*.

70 Crivellucci, *HR*, pp. 169-170 and pp. 189-190.

71 Cornford suggests that Paul's chronological divisions do not accord with the end of a particular dynasty or emperor due to the temporal mismatch of Eastern and Western emperors who did not expire at the same time.

were based on oral traditions (XIV.10, 12 and 17)[72] such as XIV.10, which deals with the death of the 'most-noble Digna' [*nobilissima*], who commits suicide rather than satisfy the lusts of the Huns.[73] Similarly personal interventions, which are relatively numerous in the *HL*, are virtually non-existent in the *HR* save for the epistolary dedication and the change in dating clause at the start of Book XVI.[74] To conclude this brief overview of the structural features of the *HR*, we can say from this discussion that the essential building blocks of Paul's approach with the *HL* are substantially present. Although there is demonstrabley less in the way of anecdotal material, there is a sensitive approach to the task at hand. His use of sources does affect the contour of the work, but there is still enough of Paul in what he selects and how he uses his material to identify the work as more than a conglomeration of material thrown together in a careless and unsatisfactory fashion. It remains, in conclusion, in this section to consider the thematic structure of the last six books.

Table vii Detailed structural grid of *HR* Books XI to XVI

Chapters	XI 364-383ev	XII 388-409	XIII 409-450	XIV 450-457	XV 457-493	XVI 491-552
1	WR	ER	WR	ER	ER WR	*Dating Clause*
2	ER	WR	V	H	WR	ER C
3	C	WR	WR (V)	H	WR	A
4	WR	WR	C	H	WR	C I
5	WR	R*	WR B	H	WR	ER C
6	WR	C	WR	H	ER V	ER
7	WR	R	WR	H	ER	A
8	C	R	WR	H	WR	ER C
9	A	R**	ER WR	H	WR	I
10	ER	A	A	H	H*	V I C
11	ER	WR	WR	H	ER*	I ER
12	WR	WR	WR	H	ER*	I
13	C	V	WR	H ER	ER*	I
14	ER	V	WR	B	ER* I	A
15	ER	V	A	WR	I	I
16	WR	WR	WR	WR	I	I
17	WR	B	B	WR	I	I

72 Crivelucci, *HR*, pp. 196, 197-198, and 201 where the material is noted as coming from a '*tradizione locale*'.

73 Crivellucci, *HR*, p. 196.

74 Crivellucci, *HR*, p. 225.

Chapters	XI 364-383ev	XII 388-409	XIII 409-450	XIV 450-457	XV 457-493	XVI 491-552
18			ER	C	I	I
19				A ER	ER A B	I
20					I ER	C L
21						I
22						I
23						I

WR = Western Roman Empire; ER = Eastern Empire; C = Christianity & the Church; B = Britain; A = Africa; V = Visigoths; H = Huns; I = Italy; L = Lombards

Here at the earliest point in Paul's continuation, the structure of the work does not greatly vary from what has gone before in the Eutropian core.[75] The subject matters of the seventeen chapters of Book XI, for instance, deal with (in order), Valentinian I's career and death; the usurpation of Procopius together with portents and omens; the heresy of Valens and Athanaric's persecution; Valentinian's defeat of the Saxons; Gratian's accession; the impiety of Valens and the Egyptian martyrs; Count Theodosius defeats the Moors and Firmius; the Hunnic Storm; Valens defeated at Adrianople (378); Gratian's military success; Saints Ambrose, Martin and Jerome; Theodosius made Emperor; Theodosius I defeats the Alans, Huns, and Goths; Maximus; and finally, a eulogy for Gratian. In common with all the books in the *HR,* the subject matters shift between the West and East. With Chapter 13, however, which deals with Christian celebrities, we see a chapter that has both a Western and an Eastern focus. Despite this, the focus of this book remains firmly on the deeds and actions of the emperors with occasional notices that pertain to Christian personalities and events. The density of Paul's sources at this point allows him to structure the work so that a number of inter-related strands are interwoven; as can be seen from the table above he oscillates his subject matters between events in the West and East. Goffart in his discussion of the *HR* contended that 'each half a book has its thematic Identity'.[76] It is not entirely clear that this is the case. Even if one accepts that Paul employed a form of chiastic patterning across the whole work, it is difficult to see exactly where the pivot works, for instance, in

75 See Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past*, p. 160, which points to the imperial biographical element of this section whilst highlighting Valentinian I's (364-375) refusal to offer sacrifice to the Gods. *Crivellucci*, p. 151.

76 *Narrators*, p. 362.

Book XI.[77] Chapter 9, which deals with the success of Count Theodosius over Firmius and the Moors, marks a clear subject break between the impious deeds of Valens in the East and the Hunnic invasions introduced in the next section. It is also a struggle to find the uniform 'thematic' unity postulated by Goffart. This posits a 'bipartite structure' to each book together with the regular use of prophetic passages. Book XI, whilst possessing a 'prophetic' passage, shifts in its subject matters between events in the West and the East, and includes a chapter on African affairs. Additionally, Paul also places a chapter on Christian celebrities of the time between the deeds of Gratian and the accession of Theodosius. The structure of this book alone, as one example, does not fit the simple bipartite model proposed by Goffart.

The reader can then comprehend the overall continuous threads of the narratives which underlie what otherwise might seem to be a disorganised and segmented composition. The structure thus works to promote the overall story rather than concentrate on artificial emphases and endpoints. In this way, the deposition of Romulus (Augustulus) (r. 475-476) in 476 may appear to be a significant watershed moment, but Paul places it within a broader context in Book XV. This book stretches from the time of Avitus (r. 455-457) as emperor to the marriage alliance *Realpolitik* of Theodoric the Great (r. 489-526) and the death of Zeno (r. 474-491) in the East. The events of 476 are thus contextualised within broader themes that lead in Book XVI to the successes of Justinian and the return of the Roman Empire in Italy.

A longer view of the structural organisation allows a better perception of the *HR*. The broad subject matter remains throughout the fortunes of the Roman Empire, with a focus on the West in particular. Book XIV, which covers a mere seven years, therefore, acts as the key pivot to the entire work. The crucial events of 450-457 in the West become significant, as the point at which, within Paul's narrative, the empire unravels. Here, he deals in detail with the invasion of Attila and the disruptions of Gaiseric's sack of Rome (i.e. 455). He prepares his readers for the fulfilment of these narrative threads in Book XV with the deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476, and the subsequent return of the empire in Italy with the military achievements of Justinian and his generals in Book XVI.

Not only does the structure of the *HR* show Paul switching his subject matter between the East and West, but also shows how Paul continued to interpose Christian notices. These continue throughout the work, but vary in density as Table VIII illustrates:

77 It is worth recalling that whereas the book divisions are Paul's, the *capitula* may have been devised subsequently and may not reflect Paul's intentions.

Table viii Judaeo-Christian notices in the Continuation

Book	Number of Chapters	Number of Christian Notices	Chapter Numbers
XI	17	4	3,8,11,13
XII	17	1	6
XIII	18	4	1,4,10,12
XIV	19	5	10,12,14,16,18
XV	20	3	3,8,19
XVI	23	7	2,3,4,5,7,8,20

With the exception of Book XVI, these notices do not, however, form the prime focus of each individual book. They do, however, continue to satisfy the original intention of Paul's patron, without affecting the broader focus selected by Paul or his interpretation of events.[78]

Waitz's charge levelled at Paul that he was guilty of 'carelessness of various kinds, misunderstandings and chronological errors' would appear to not be substantiated by a careful view of the building blocks of the *HR*.[79] We should bear in mind in any case that Paul's project was based on a commission that had to keep the interests and intellectual background of his patron in mind. This affected how he approached the composition and structure of the work. Throughout both the original core and his continuation, he continued to remind his readers of the original purpose of the extension. There was still, despite his patron/client relationship with Adelperga, independence of approach that allowed Paul to edit the first part lightly and to choose his subject matters for the continuation. Thus he composed his own *HR*, but at the same time he created a literary entertainment for Adelperga that also informed and instructed. Paul's first lengthy prose narrative is more than a precursor to the *HL*, within whose shadow it has remained. It reveals Paul's complex narrative strategies. Into the Eutropian core, he integrated carefully his additions and he connected his continuation, so that the two sections seamlessly form a new work. He manipulated where necessary, he retained where possible, and added to the text to broaden the focus. In the first part of the work, Paul took care to satisfy his patron through the

78 The relative paucity of Christian notices after the Old Testament period has puzzled some e.g. Sestan, *Qualche Aspetti*, pp. 62-63. See also *Narrators*, p. 349. References that concentrate on persecutions e.g. VII.11 on Tiberius; IX.4 on Decius; and, X.6 on Licinius ??? suggest Cornford, *The Idea of the Roman Past,* pp. 121-2.

79 *Narrators*, p. 357, from Georg Waitz's review of *MGH AA ii*. (Goffart's translation).

use of notices that provided contextual background to Biblical and ancient events. Subsequently, in the second part, where Paul's focus shifted with his sources, he continued to interpose Judaeo-Christian notices, but retained the broad theme of the fortunes of the Roman Empire. Thus, he satisfied the commission of Adelperga, and kept his authorial independence. In the ebb and flow of fortune, in the providential interventions, and in his manipulation of sources, we see for the first time Paul's mastery of narrative structures. These skills were to stand Paul in good stead for his later commissions, both long and short.

Beatissimus Pontifex: The *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*

The *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni* (*VSGM*) is the shortest prose narrative that Paul produced dealing with the life and career of Pope Gregory the Great (*c.* 540-604). Paul's interest in the life and thought of Gregory runs like a golden thread throughout his literary output.[80] Admittedly Gregory's activities are described only in this work and subsequently in the *HL,* but whilst in Francia, Paul also prepared what proved to be an influential selection of Gregorian letters that he dedicated to his friend and Charlemagne's cousin, Adalhard of Corbie (*c.* 752-816).[81] Gregory the Great, of course, was no great friend of the Lombards (despite his diplomatic connections with Agilulf (590-616) and Theodolinda (*c.* 570-628) and his bestowal of gifts), so it might appear surprising to identify the importance of this particular pope to Paul. However, if one recalls the links between Gregory, his admiration for Benedict of Nursia, and Paul's own Benedictine monastic connection with Monte Cassino, the admiration of the figure of Gregory for Paul is entirely understandable.[82] In what follows, we shall consider the date of composition of the *VSGM*; the security of the text used by scholars today; the

80 On this see Claudio Azzara, *La Figura de Gregorio Magno*, pp. 29-38.

81 Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's Cousins* and Dobias-Roždestvenskaïa, *La Main de Paul Diacre*. See also Tuzzo, *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*, p. viii n. 4 and Leyser, *The Memory of Pope Gregory*, p. 450, which refers to *PL*, Vol. LXXV, col. 37-40. For Tuzzo Paul has '*una fervida ammirazione per uno dei più grandi papi di tutti i tempi, ammirazione che egli manifestera anche in altre opere*' (a fervid admiration for one of the greatest Popes of all time, an admiration that was manifested in other works), Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 10. See Narrators, p.343 and n.51 for the *Collectio Pauli*. One should also note in this respect the extensive use Paul made of Gregorian material for the *Homiliary* he prepared in the 780s. For the Homiliary see *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht,* ed. by Friedrich Wiegand.

82 See Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead do Such Great Things*?, pp. 41-46, which makes the cogent point that the second book of Gregory's *Dialogues* is 'virtually a life of Benedict and

impact of other commentators on Gregory e.g. Bede's *Historica Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (can we show that Paul had access to and used Bedan material?) before we conclude with a consideration of the item's structure and contents.

Both the security of the text and the linked issues of place and date of composition are significant matters that need to be considered prior to an analysis of the *Vita*'s structure. There is no certainty as to the precise compositional date of the *VSGM*. Hartmann Grisar (1845-1932), who prepared an edition of the text in 1887 from a selection of Italian manuscripts, suggested that the work was 'written in the second half of the eighth-century' [*Das von Paulus Diakonus* (*Paul Warnefried*) *in der 2.hälfte des 8.Jahrhunderts verfasste des Papstes Gregor des Grossen*].[83] Writing just over a century later, Oronzo Limone was not willing (or prepared) to pinpoint a more exact date, commenting that 'we do not know precisely in what year Paul the Deacon wrote his Life of Gregory the Great' [*non sappiamo nulla di preciso circa l'anno in cui Paolo Diacono scrive la sua Vita S.Gregorii Magni*]. He continues, 'however, this date may be placed in the second half of the eighth-century' [*Questa data comunque può collocarsi nella seconda metà dell'VIII secolo*].[84] Goffart writing at roughly the same time as Limone was uncharacteristically vague. The date, he suggested, 'is almost impossible to pin down', but he added that the work was written 'presumably after [Paul] bec[ame] a monk of Monte Cassino'.[85] One has the sense here that Goffart would not seem to be entirely convinced about his own suggestion that the work has a later compositional date i.e. after Paul's return from Francia – in other words in the later 780s – rather than before Paul's departure north. If such an assertion is made on the basis (alone) that this can be proven by Paul's use of the works of Gregory of Tours in the *Gesta*, the *HL,* and the *VSGM* (but not the *HR*), one can quickly see the rather meagre basis of such an assertion and the need to be vague in affirming any particular date. Finally, the editor of the most recent scholarly edition, Sabina Tuzzo, in her 2002 work was content (and no doubt wise) to merely allocate the work to

creates a powerful and enduring image of the author of a Rule for monks made remarkable for its discernment and brilliant in its style' at p. 45.

83 Grisar, *Die Gregorbiographie*, p. 158. See Castaldi's remarks on the use of manuscripts by Grisar. Castaldi, *Nuovo Testamenti*, p. 77.

84 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 898. Limone does, however, reference Pontoni's *Introduzione agli Studi di Paolo Diacono* (Napoli, 1946), p. 74, which suggests that Paul wrote the work in Rome in 787 during his stay there between January and February whilst in the company of Charlemagne.

85 *Narrators*, p. 370.

a 'mature phase of his life' [*ad un fase matura della sua vita*].[86] Accordingly it would be somewhat dangerous to propose a compositional point prior to the 780s or thereafter, this on the basis of the reference to the work that Paul provides in his *HL*. However, on a rather thin balance of probability, the work would seem to have been completed earlier in that decade than later. Whether the use of Gregory of Tours is the key diagnostic element here remains debateable, although possibly significant.[87] Otherwise, if one places the work in a broader context i.e. as a work written after Paul's *HR* and *Gesta*, composition at this juncture would not only dovetail with the renewed focus and interest in the life and works of Gregory the Great by the intellectual circles arrayed at Charlemagne's court, but also link into Paul's known activities in Francia.[88] Here the textual similarities between Paul's work and that of Bede, mediated through a Frankish provenance, would also suggest that, at the very least, Paul may have conceived the work's genesis in the north, having had some access to Bedan material.[89]

If one considers the complex manuscript tradition, further precision may be possible with respect to the compositional date. An early modern edition of the XVIIth-century prepared by the Bollandists printed a text as an anonymous work; subsequently Jean Mabillon (1632-1707) pointed out

86 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p.x. Leyser notes that the work was composed in the 780s. See Leyser, *The Memory of Pope Gregory*, p. 450 . Castaldi's paper, whilst not directly concerned with the issue of when the work was composed, refers to the end of the eighth century (*alla fine dell'Ottocento*). Castaldi, *Nuovo Testamenti*, p. 75. Azzara in the same volume does not address the issue.

87 See Limone, La Vita, pp. 898-899 and n. 35. Limone was of the view that '*quasi certamente questi libri* (i.e. Gregory of Tours' *DCL*) *erano presenti nello scriptorium cassinese ma erano piu facilmente reperibili a Roma*'.

88 Paul's *Vita* stands as the second extant work on the life of Gregory the Great and precedes those of the 'Interpolator', who amended and extended Paul's work and John the Deacon's work of the later ninth century. In order the works are: i) Anonymous (BHL 3637) early eighth century; ii) Paul the Deacon (BHL 3639) 780s; iii) Interpolator (BL 3640) mid-ninth century; and, iv) John the Deacon (BHL 3641) late ninth century.

89 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. ix-x. There is no absolute certainty that Paul knew and used Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, although there have been assumptions that this was the case. Tuzzo lists it in an Index of sources used by Paul. The identical nature of some passages would appear to support this. See Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 36. Paul may have encountered the *Historia Ecclesiastica* at the Frankish court. McKitterick, *Carolingian History Books* in McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 49; and Mynors, *The Circulation of the Older Manuscripts* in Hunter-Blair, *The Moore Bede*, p. 25. 'Bede's fame may have crossed the sea during his lifetime, copies of his works were being sent overseas within a decade of his death' and 'it may be that the Moore Bede was among the many English books that reached the continent during the VIIIth-century but more than this we cannot say'. See Story, *Carolingian Connections*; and, Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*.

the ascription of the work to Paul the Deacon in a number of manuscripts.[90] It was Mabillon's edition that Jacques-Paul Migne (1800-1875) re-printed in 1861.[91] Mabillon had also, however, observed that there were shorter versions of the texts which excluded some of the miracle stories attributed to Gregory the Great. Accordingly, Hartmann Grisar's 1887 edition printed in the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* argued that this shorter version was the original text of Paul and the longer versions were a later interpolation. Migne's text then reproduces 29 chapters whereas Grisar's reduces the number to seventeen.[92] Whilst Hartmann's text resolved the apparent difficulties with the length of the text, it was not based on sufficient manuscript foundations. Limone in 1988 noted that Grisar had used 19 manuscripts which were grouped into three classes, whereas Tuzzo, more recently, whilst also noting the partial extent of Grisar's textual base, increased the numbers used to 27 items.[93] Three modern overviews of extant manuscripts have identified a considerably larger manuscript presence than Grisar envisaged. In order of publication these were Limone's article which has details of 67 items; Castaldi's of 2001 which lists 34; and finally Tuzzo, who provides details on 82 items.[94] Tuzzo extends the limited grouping of Grisar into twenty separate groups.[95] A considerably simplified version of her *Stemma Codicum* is shown below:

90 See Leyser, Memory of Pope Gregory, p. 449-462, at p. 450? n.s 5 and 6. For the anonymous text see Jean Bolland, Godfried Henschenius, and Daniel Papebrochius (eds.), *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerpen and Bruxelles, 1643-) (*AASS* VIII) (March ii), pp. 130-136. For Jean Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (*ASSOSB*) (Paris, 1668-1701), I, p. 377. It should be noted that Gregory's feast day was 12 March (the anniversary of his death) until 1969 when it was revised to 3 September, the date of his episcopal ordination in 590.

91 Migne, *PL*, LXXV colls. 42-60. The discussion re: attribution at colls. 37-42 is a copy of Jean Mabillon's edition in *ASSOSB*, I, pp. 378-379.

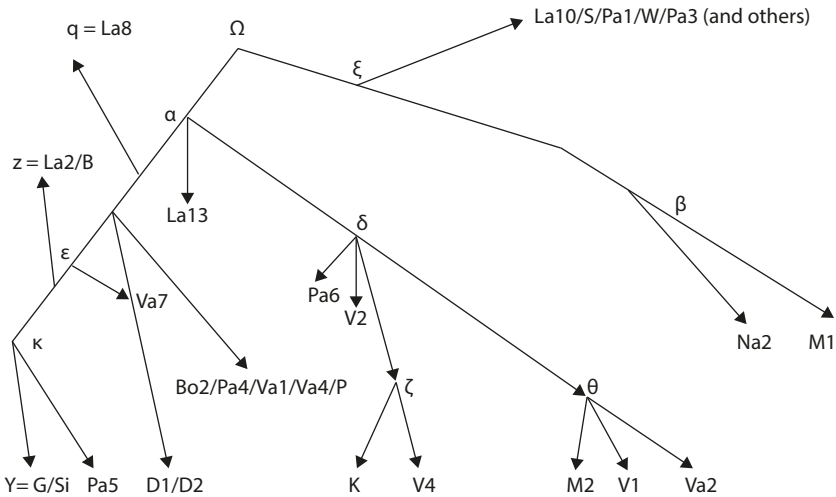
92 Grisar, *Die Gregorbiographie*, pp. 158-173. See p. 173, which concludes with '*sepultus vero est in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli ante secretarium die quarto iduum martiarum regnante Iesu Christo domino nostro, qui cum patre e spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus in secula seculorum.Amen*' but Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 32 has '*sepultus vero st in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli ante secretarium die quarto iduum martiarum*'. See Tuzzo, p. xiii re: BHL 3639a, BHL 3639b and BHL 3639c.

93 Limone*, La Vita Gregorii*, p. 900 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. viii. Grisar's discussion of his manuscripts: Grisar, *Die Gregorbiographie*, pp. 159-60. To be fair to Grisar, he does indicate at the very start that he uses '*Italienischen Handschriften*'. However, Castaldi indicated that in reality his edition was based on Montecassino 145 alone. For the full critique see, Castaldi, *Nuovo Testamenti,* p. 76.

94 Limone*, La Vita Gregorii*. For the census of manuscripts, see pp. 900-953; Castaldi, *Nuovi Testamenti*, pp. 78-83 and pp. 85-126; Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp.xii-xxix.

95 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp.l-li.

Diagram i Simplified *Stemma Codicum* of the *VSGM* (after Tuzzo)



Multiple manuscript family groupings at the very least testify to the enduring interest throughout the Middle Ages in the life and activities of Gregory the Great with a particular preponderance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Out of the 67 codices that Limone listed, no less than 47 pertain to this period.[96] A glance at Limone's geographical diffusion of the *VSGM* is equally useful. Broadly speaking one can detect three clusters of interest: one centred on Montecassino and the south of Italy which includes Rome; a second cluster to the north of Rome centred on the Tuscan region and Emilia-Romagna; and, thirdly, a rather diffuse ultra-montane group north of the Alps.[97] So far as the oldest survivals are concerned Limone identifies one from the ninth-century (i.e. Luxeuil, now Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10863).[98] A further nine items were allocated to the tenth-century.[99] If one were to collate the earliest twelve manuscripts the pattern emerges as follows:

96 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, pp. 910-11. Compare with Tuzzo's list and full *Stemma Codicum*. See Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp.l-li with the diagram at the end of the work (un-paginated) and details of the items on pp.xiii-xxx. Here, out of 81 listed codices, 58 pertain to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

97 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, pp. 912-913.

98 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 938 for details. Tuzzo classes this item as Pa1 in her detailed introduction. See Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xxiv.

99 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, pp. 910-914 and Tuzzo, *Vita,* pp. xiii-xxix and using Limone's numbering 44= Roma A79 S. Giovanni (Tuzzo = Z, p. xxiv); 42 = Paris 17002 Moissac (Tuzzo = Pa3, p. xxiv); 24 = München 11328 Passau (Tuzzo = U2, p. xx); 67 = Würzburg Weissenburg (Tuzzo = W, p. xxix); 23 = München 3810 Augsburg (Tuzzo = U1, p. xx); 2 = Bologna 1576 Nonantola (Tuzzo

Table ix Manuscript details of the earliest surviving *VSGM*

Manuscript Number–Limone	Manuscript Number–Tuzzo	Origin	Century
41[100]	Pa1	Luxeuil	9th
-[101]	St	?	9th
2[102]	Bo1	Nonantola	10th
6[103]	E	?	10th
23[104]	U1	Augsburg	10th
24[105]	U2	Passau	10th-11th
26[106]	Na1	Toscana	11th
40[107]	Pa2	Reims	10th
42[108]	Pa3	Moissac	10th
-[109]	So	?	10th
60[110]	Va1	Petau	10th-11th
67[111]	W	Weissenburg	8th-9th

Only two of these items demonstrably originate from south of the Alps. The three oldest are still potentially a century younger than the date of the work's composition (i.e. the manuscripts from Luxeuil, that which is currently in Stuttgart and the item from Weissenburg (i.e. Pa1, St and W) (see Table below). In terms of age this information can be distilled further as the following table demonstrates.

= Bo1, p. xiii); 6 = Einsiedeln 257 Einsiedeln (Tuzzo = E, p. xv); 40 = Paris 5327 Reims (Tuzzo = Pa2, p. xxiii); and 60 = Vaticano lat. 226 (Tuzzo = Va1, p. xxviii).

100 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 938 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xxiv.

101 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xxvi. Items not listed by Limone (using Tuzzo's classification) are: A= Arona (10th-centuryi-xii); L = Chicago (10th-centuryi); D2 = Cividale del Friuli (10th-centuryiv); D1 = Cividale del Friuli (10th-centuryii); La14 = Firenze (10th-centuryiii); La12 = Firenze (10th-centuryiii); La13 = Firenze (10th-centuryiii); La11 = Firenze (10th-centuryiii); La7 = Firenze (10th-centuryi); La8 = Firenze (10th-centuryi); La9 = Firenze (10th-centuryi); La10 = Firenze (10th-centuryi); La15 = Firenze (10th-centuryi); So = Solothurn (10th-century); and St = Stuttgart (9th-century).

102 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xiii-xiv.

103 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 918 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xv.

104 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 928 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xx.

105 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 928 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xx.

106 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, pp. 929-930 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xxi.

107 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, pp. 937-938 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xxiii-xxiv.

108 Limone,*La Vita Gregorii*, pp. 938-939 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xxiv.

109 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xxvi.

110 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 949 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xxviii.

111 Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 953 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xxix NB Tuzzo suggests tenth century.

Table x Manuscript by age of the surviving *VSGM* manuscripts

8th-century	9th-century	10th-century
W (67)	Pa1 (41), St	Bo1 (2), E (6), U1 (23), U2 (24), Na1, Pa2 (40), Pa3 (42), So, Va1 (60)

The un-avoidable conclusion, however, would point to the impossibility or at least the insecurity of making any firm conclusions on whether Paul composed the *VSGM* on the basis of the surviving manuscript pathways and transmission and whether such composition was north or south of the Alps or in the early or late 780s.

Having considered at some length the issues of the compositional date and location of the work, we must now analyse the contents and the structure of the work. The *Vita* has not been as exhaustively considered as Paul's other extant prose narratives. It is, as Goffart notes ' the least studied of his four historical works'.[112] Yet at the same time, Goffart has provided a nearly unique presentation of the structural parameters of the *VSGM* even though such comments are contained in a section entitled 'Minor Works'.[113] One useful approach in considering the *VSGM* is to compare the treatment of Gregory in Paul's works (both the *VSGM* and the *HL*) with other early commentators. Insular sources such as Bede's *Historica Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (*HE*) and the work of the Anonymous of Whitby (previously presumed to be an anonymous monk) emphasise attributes and activities such as Gregory's contribution to the English mission and/or his ascetic and holy qualities, in addition to the miracles attributed to him both pre- and post-mortem.[114] A comparison between these works and Paul's treatment has proven to be illustrative in that it allows us to understand and follow the development of Gregory's reputation across the eighth-century in particular and beyond in Italy and England, and to see how ninth-century commentators i.e. the interpolator of Paul's *Vita* and John the Deacon (d. after 882), who both built upon Paul's foundations, further amended and deepened their depictions of Gregory's holiness.

112 *Narrators*, p. 339. Goffart's own analysis occupies only two pages of his work i.e. pp. 371-373, where he correctly indicates that 'further analysis would probably reveal additional refinements'. The complete section on Paul the Deacon is covered by pp. 329-431.

113 *Narrators*, pp. 371-373.

114 King (ed.), Bede: *Ecclesiastical History*; Sherley-Price (ed.), Bede: *A History of the English Church*; Colgrave (ed and trans.), *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*; Limone, *La Vita di Gregorio Magno*, pp. 37-67; and, Thacker, *Memorialising Gregory*, p. 61.

Paul in the *VSGM*, as we shall see, briefly discussed the origins of the English mission, but the episode is not the central focus of his *Vita*. Clearly his notices on Gregory in the *HL* are predominantly focussed on Gregory's activities in the broader world of geo-politics in the central Mediterranean basin. Even so, Capo is correct to suggest that there is a complementarity in the treatment of Gregory across the *VSGM* and the *HL* which allows each work to emphasise elements of Gregory's life omitted in the other work.[115] Other commentators, however, such as Azzara prefer to note the differences in the approach of the two works, so that the *Vita* operates to emphasise a monastic model of the Papacy responding to the acute troubles of late-sixth-century central Italy with all its available spiritual and ascetic resources.[116] Both approaches, it should be pointed out, have merit. Clearly the difference in focus in Paul's work is a function not only of Paul's purposes but also of the wide interests – intellectual and political – of Gregory the Great's life. In this regard Paul's work was the first to construct a hagiographical framework for the life of Gregory which, save for the *Liber Pontificalis,* did not have a ready-made template to use. Gregory's sanctity flowed from a combination of roles as ascetic, evangelist, bishop, and monastic founder.[117] Thus one can, as Paul did, concentrate on the ascetic qualities of Gregory, but at the same time discuss Gregory's quotidian management of Rome dealing, for instance, with the logistics of the delivery of wooden beams. He can also correspond with emperors and kings, but also (apparently) worry about the safety and productivity of those who till the soil. Across the two works of Paul there is ample demonstration of these features.

Unpicking the structure of the work will assist in understanding the hagiographical framework that Paul created. As noted above, Goffart has supplied a rare discussion of the arrangement of the *Vita*. He delineated an essentially bipartite composition that pivoted around Gregory's election

115 Capo, p.479, '*Paolo rinvia in modo esplicito considerando le due opere complementari tanto da scrivere qui quasi solo quello che li mancava'*.

116 Azzara, *La Figura di Gregorio Magno* in *Chiesa*, pp. 30-31 (and in general pp. 29-38, '*Una valutazione d'insieme di questo complesso di scritti diversi lascia emergere con chiarezza come l'agiografia e la storiografia altomedievali compresso Paolo Diacono abbiano condensato un'immagine di Gregorio i dai tratti omogenei e distintivi …*' and '*con un attitudine alla preghiera, alla riflessione spirituale e alla semplicità dei costumi che non venne mai meno neppure tra gli affanni di questo mondo*'. For these issues see (as important starting points) Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* and Cavadini, *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*.

117 See Alan Thacker, '*Loca Sanctorum*: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints' in Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 1-43, see p. 2: 'Like the martyrs, the confessors achieved sanctity through specific roles: ascetic, evangelist, bishop, monastic founder …'

as Pope in 590. For Goffart, 'Paul's account of Gregory affords an almost too perfect illustration of his predilection for bipartite and symmetrical composition'.[118] Goffart's structural arrangement is reproduced below with the addition of chapter numbers and word counts using Tuzzo's recent edition as the source of the totals.

Table xi Structure of the *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni* (after Goffart)[119]

Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni	**Chapter Headings**	**Chapter Numbers**	**Word count**
I. Before the Pontificate		1-9	1117
	Birth and Life in the World	1-3	287
	Ascetic and Monastic Life	4-6	409
	Papal Service in Rome and Constantinople	7-9	419
II. Pontificate		10-17	1899
	Plague and Election	10-11	714
	Writings, Health, pastorate	12-14	460
	English Mission	15-16	622
	Impact on the Future and Death	17	103
Total			3016

This bipartite composition pivots around a chiastic point that consciously operates by opposing complementary strands or elements across the two halves.[120] Thus, in the first part, the discussion of Gregory's ascetic and monastic life (in Chapters 4-6) is matched by the second section in Part ii on his pastoral care whilst Bishop of Rome (i.e. in chapters 12-14). Likewise, the space provided on how Gregory tackled the heresy of Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople (*c.* 512-582) whilst Roman *apocrisiarios* in Constantinople (i.e. between 579 and 585/6) (in Chapters 7-9) is complemented across the chiastic crux by his involvement in the mission to the Anglo-Saxons

118 *Narrators*, p. 371.

119 *Narrators*, p. 372.

120 Halsall's definition in another context is useful here: 'In chiastic patterning sections of texts mirror each other around a crux … derived from the Greek letter chi (χ), itself formed of two mirroring halves meeting at a crux. Sometimes a key message may be placed at the crux; sometimes the crux may simply be the point of reflection'. Halsall, *The Preface to Book V*, pp. 299-300.

(Chapters 15-16) at the penultimate point of the whole work.[121] In his concluding remarks, which are worth repeating in full, Goffart suggests that: 'Paul reconciles simplicity of manner, including a mostly linear chronology with dramatic effects attained by parallelism, contrasts, juxtapositions and very occasional manipulations of time'.[122]

Yet even though for Goffart the *VSGM* may be 'a particularly transparent example of Paul's narrative style', doubt must remain about the cogency of his structural arrangement.[123] Thematically, Goffart's broad chiastic structure, dividing the life of Gregory around the papal election, would be an attractive division of the *Vita* into a pre-pontifical and pontifical phase. However, whilst this division allocates nine chapters to the first section and seven to the latter or, in terms of wordcount, only 1117 words in the first section against 1899 words in the latter section,the proposed division is skewed. Two-thirds of the work then, would be devoted to the period 590-604. It is possible, of course, to identify structural divisions that are more closely connected to the contours of the work. A tripartite structure can be identified, so that Gregory's life and career is represented in equal measure, as the following table shows:

Table xii Suggested tripartite structure of the *Vita*

Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni	**Chapters**	**Number of Chapters**	**Time**	**Years**	**Word-count**
Early Life	1-6	6	*c.* 540-578	38	698
Deaconate	7-11	5	578-590	12	1133
Pontificate	12-17	6	590-604	14	1185

This division into thirds shows clearly the natural progression of Gregory's life, so that his deaconate and pontificate merit more attention and discussion than either his ancestors or his earlier secular activities and also follow sequentially. It can also be seen that the division does not need to blur the pivot of the work by obscuring Gregory's important papal service in

121 For Eutychius, Cameron, *Eustratius' Life of the Patriarch Eutychius* in *Kathegetria*, pp. 225-247; Cameron, *Models of the Past in the Late Sixth Century* in Clarke with Croke, Emmett-Nobbs and Mortley (eds.), *Reading the Past*, pp. 205-224. *Narrators*, p. 372. Goffart provides two further examples on pp. 371-372, but his indication that 'further analysis' would reveal 'additional refinements' reveals an unfortunate missed opportunity to consider the work further and at greater length.

122 *Narrators*, p. 372.

123 *Narrators*, p. 373.

Rome and Constantinople, as is implicitly suggested by Goffart's structural arrangements. Naturally, one may identify further significant elements in the *Vita*'s approach. Tuzzo highlights the linear progression of the narrative from his youth to the pontifical throne against his will; his great humility combined with courage and vigour; his help for the poor and needy during the plague; his efforts for peace; and his intense efforts to purify and reinvigorate religion in both the west and the east.[124] However, whilst all these features are present, Paul's *Vita* expresses a fundamental tension in its treatment of Gregory. This is clearly shown in the opening passage which is worth repeating here:

> *Gregorius urbe Romulea patre Gordiano editus, non solum nobilem de spectabili senatorum prosapia, verum etiam religiosam originem duxit. Nam Felix iusdem apostolicae sedis antistesvir magnae in Christo et Ecclsia gloriae, eius atavus fuit. Sed tamen hanc Gregorius tantae nobilitatis lineam moribus extulit, probis actibus decoravit. Denique, ut post in propatulo claruit, non sine mango quodam praesagio tale sortitus est nomen Gregorius namque ex Greaco eloquio in nostrum linguam Vigilantius sonat. Re etenim vera vigilavit sibi, dum divinis inherendo praeceptis laudabiliter vixit.*
>
> Gregory was brought up in the Romulean city by his father Gordian and was drawn from a notable lineage of senators, but furthermore from true religious origins. For instance, Felix overseer of the same apostolic seat, a man great in Christ and the glory of the Church was his great-great-grandfather. But however, this Gregory lifted up the noble line with his great deeds, he adorned with the proof of his acts. Then, as is clear after he was made famous, and not without a certain great presentiment, such was the destiny of his name, in the Greek tongue Gregory means 'Watcher' in our language. Indeed, he looked out for the truth whilst he lived laudably following heavenly rules.[125]

First, it is very noteworthy that at the outset of the work Paul discusses the dual Roman inheritance of Gregory. Not only is he associated with a senatorial family, but he can also count upon St. Felix III (II) (483-492) as

124 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. xi. Castaldi highlights his monastic life, the plague at Rome, the pontifical election, and the evangelisation of the Angles i.e. '*una piu breve, nella quale si privilegiava il racconto del periodico monastico, la peste a Roma, l'elezione al Pontificato e la missione per l'evangelizzazione degli Angli*'. See Castaldi, *Nuovo Testamenti*, p. 75.

125 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 3. My translation. For comparison see Mary Emmanuel Jones, *Life of St Gregory*, p. 10.

an illustrious ancestor and previous incumbent of St. Peter's Chair.[126] In this early first third of the *Vita* it is, secondly, noticeable that whilst Gregory's patrician status is mentioned at the start of the work, his activities as Prefect of Rome (*c.* 572-574) are passed over. We are informed that he undertook studies in the liberal arts of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics at a time when Rome flourished, but even at this early stage in his life he 'began to devote his life to God [*Deo coepit devotus existere*].[127] Paul does, however, acknowledge the tensions in Gregory's religious impulses, which ran against his upbringing and his family's expectations. He tells us:

> *Hic in annis adulescentiae, in quibus solet aetas saeculi vias ingredi, Deo coepit devotus existere et ad supernae vitae patriam totis desideriis anhelare. Sed dum diu longeque conversionis gratiam differret et, postquam caelesti est afflatus desiderio, saeculari habitu contegi melius putaret velletque praesenti mundo quasi specie tenus deservire, coeperunt multa contra eum ex eiusdem mundi cura succrescere, ut in eo non iam specie, sed, ut ipse de se adseruit, retineretur et mente.*
> During the years of youth, when this age was wont to follow the ways of the world, he devoutly began to live for God and to strive towards the heavenly fatherland with all his heart. But while for a long time, he resisted the grace of conversion and after he had been inflamed with heavenly desires considered that it would be better to wear secular garb and to devote himself to the present life, at least in appearance, many worldly cares began to engross him, so that he was held back not only in appearance, but as he himself asserted, also in actuality.[128]

Whilst his antecedents were distinguished and his upbringing privileged, Paul emphasises Gregory's use of his family's wealth to construct six monasteries in Sicily and one within the walls of the city itself [*sex denique in Sicilia monasteria construens … septimum vero intra urbis muros instituit*], which he undertook once his parents had died.[129] With Chapter 6 at the cusp of the sections on Gregory's early life and his deaconate, Paul interposes a lengthy passage from the Preface to the *Dialogues* of Gregory which, as Limone has noted, allows Paul 'to talk in the first person and to open the

126 See Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, pp. 46-47 for Felix III (II). Paul does not mention the connection with another predecessor and relative St. Agapitus I (535-536).
127 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 4.
128 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 4-5 and Jones, *Life of St Gregory*, p. 11.
129 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 6. See also Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 895.

discourse in a new perspective'.[130] The passage selected is one in which Gregory, in speaking to his deacon, Peter, recollects his life in the monastery and how this life of an 'unhappy soul' [*infelix … animus*] had been previously one where 'it was accustomed to think of nothing but *heaven*' [*nulla nisi caelestia cogitare consueverat*].[131] So, whilst the passage points forwards to Gregory's future as Pope, it also contrives to look back to that time that Gregory himself had identified as one in which he was able to devote his full attention to religious praxis.

Accordingly this chapter links to the second (and indeed, third) phase of Gregory's career as a deacon, where he was rapidly sent to Constantinople as papal *apocrisiarios* in 578 [*ad urbem Constantinopolim apocrisiarium direxit*].[132] Paul has opportunity here in the second section of the *Vita* to further consolidate the impression of Gregory's character as both orthodox and ascetic, whilst based at the centre of the East Roman Empire. Here we are told, he encounters a 'new heresy' [*novam haeresim*].[133]Paul continues:

> *Siquidem Eutychius, eiusdem urbis episcopus, dogmatizabat corpus nostrum in illa resurrectionis gloria impalpabile ventis aereque subtilius esse futurum; quod ille audiens et ratione veritatis et exemplo dominicae resurrectionis proavit hoc dogma orthodoxae fidei omnimodis esse contrarium.* Accordingly Eutychius the bishop of the same city [i.e. Constantinople] was teaching that our bodies in that glorious resurrection, will be as impalpable as wind and subtle as air; when hearing that, from reasons of truth and by the example of our Lord's resurrection he proved that this was entirely contrary to the dogma of orthodox faith.[134]

Subsequently, Gregory worked against this new heresy seeking the help of the emperor Tiberius II Constantine (578-582). This second section which runs up to the election of Gregory as pope continues the threads commenced in the first that emphasise the orthodox and ascetic credentials of Gregory and his apparent suitability as a papal candidate upon the death

130 For the passage, see Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 7-9. Limone's analysis, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 896, which discusses a tension between his life and inheritance: *'la parentesi in cui Paolo fa parlare il personagio in prima persona apro il discorso a nuove prospettive che in Gregorio saranno oggetto di profonda meditazione'*.

131 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 8 and Jones, *Life of St Gregory*, p. 13.

132 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 10.

133 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 12-13.

134 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 12-13. My translation.

of Pelagius II in 590, at a point, as we shall see below, of some danger to the city and population of Rome.

With the third section and lengthiest part of the *Vita*, we see the culmination of these attributes as Paul's hagiographical framework is fully constructed. *Capitula* 11, which opens this part of Gregory's career, uses two lengthy passages of Gregory of Tours recounting the *'oratio'* of the pope to the people, concluding with his semi-involuntary election and promotion as pope. Paul takes note of the personal burden of the office on Gregory, who was:

> *frequens etiam eum gresuum dolor vehementer affligebat.*
> frequently even afflicted with great pain himself.[135]

This heavy responsibility was further aggravated by the swords of the Lombards [*Langobardorum gladios*], who menaced all of Italy.[136] The central feature, however, of the short account is provided in Chapters 15 and 16, which deal with Gregory's famous encounter with the enslaved Angles and their sellers in the forum of Rome. This prompts the Pope to send to Britain a mission of conversion. This episode in itself represents 68 lines of text (in the Tuzzo edition) alone and is thus, just from its length, but also its position as the penultimate chapter of the work, marked for significance. The details of the story itself need not be repeated here, but the construction of this passage weaves between Gregory's time as a deacon and his later activities as Pope. His own attempt to set off for Britain is described, an attempt foiled by the local population's opposition, but also by the sign of a locust alighting on a book Gregory was reading, prompting his return to Rome. His abortive personal missionary activity is made good, however, by his role in the mission that is sent to Britain later in his pontificate. Gregory was thus 'an apostle [to] the Angles' [*ut merito ab Anglorum populis debeat apostolus appellare*].[137] Further, with the final chapter, this one activity is highlighted again for emphasis. The work then concludes succinctly with the following observation:

135 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 22-23 and Limone, *La Vita Gregorii*, p. 897.

136 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 23. The full passage is: *'Denique cum de tota paene Italia Langobardorum gladios metuentes plurima undique ad Romanam urbem confluerent sollerter pro omnibus curam gerebat'.*

137 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 30 and Jones, *Life of St Gregory*, p. 27.

> *Qui beatissimus pontifex postquam sedem Romanae et apostolicae Ecclesiae annis tredecim, mensibus sex et diebus decem gloriossissimi rexit, ex hac luce subtractus atque ad aeternam est regni caelestis, sedem translates. Sepultus vero est in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli ante ascretarium die quarto Iduum Martiarum.*
> This most blessed Pope after his most glorious rule of thirteen years, six months and ten days on the seat of the Roman and Apostolic Church, was withdrawn from the light and transferred to a Heavenly seat. His burial was on the 4th Ides of March in the porch of the Church of the Blessed Peter the Apostle.[138]

This short conclusion ends the work with the final natural end-point of death. It would appear that Paul has simply charted the course of Gregory's life from birth to death. Yet whilst this progression is straightforward, and the canvas of his subject matter smaller than his lengthier prose narratives, one can still detect elements of Paul's approach and responses, particularly with regard to the construction of the narrative which we shall consider in greater depth. Comparison of passages between Paul's *Vita* and sections in Bede's *HEGA* and in Gregory of Tours's *Decem Libri Historiarum* (*DCL*) demonstrate that Paul utilised their works to supply details.[139] This is particularly evident when one considers the overall shape of Paul's narrative. We can see the use of the *Liber Pontificalis* when Paul indicates that, upon his election as Pope Gregory: *'Denique direxit ad eandem insulam servos Dei Mellitum, Augustinum et Iohannem cum multis aliis Deum timentibus monachis. Qui intra breve temporis spatium, regem illum qui in capite insulae morabatur cum suo populo converterunt'* (*LP*) [He sent to this same island those servants of God, Mellitus, Augustine and John with many other God-fearing monks. Within a short time they converted the king who lived in the capital of the island and with him his people].[140] And then, in a striking quote that is also evident in Bede's work he reproduces the comment of

138 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 31-32. My translation.

139 Both Limone (Limone, La Vita Gregorii, p. 899) and Tuzzo (Tuzzo, Vita, pp. 36-37) provide tables of sources for the work which do not require repetition here. Tuzzo's fuller treatment identifies nine separate items as follows: Bede (*HEGA* and *Homilies*); The Bible (nine separate books); Gregory the Great (*Dialogues, Homiliae super Ezechielem, Moralia, Registrum Epistolarum, Regula Pastoralis*); Gregory of Tours (*DCL*); *Liber Pontificalis*; Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura*); Seneca (*De Beneficiis*); Suetonius (*Vitae Caesarum*); and Virgil (*Aeneid*). Limone identifies five separate authors. If one glances at Bede's *HEGA* (II,1), it is noticeable how similar the structure between Paul's fuller treatment and Bede's obituary appears to be. See King, *Bede*, pp. 184-201.

140 Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 29. I have slightly amended the translation of Jones. See Jones, Life of St Gregory, p. 27. For comparison with Bede, see King, *Bede*, pp. 196-197 and Sherley-Price, *Bede*, p. 98.

Gregory from his *Moralia: 'Ecce lingua Britanniae quae nihil aliud noverat quam barbaram frendere, iam dudum in divinis laudibus Hebraea coepit verba resonare'* [Behold the language of Britain which has until now been gnashed by the teeth of barbarians at last has begun to sing Hebrew words in praise of God].[141] Paul's use of Gregory of Tours, in particular Book X, 1, is suggested by the duplication of details such as the appearance of snakes and a dragon (see above), specific biographical details of Gregory's family, and his skill in grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric.[142] The influence of both Bede's *HEGA* (in particular II, 1) and Gregory of Tours's *DCL* can be demonstrated with some ease. This is not to suggest, however, that Paul set about constructing his *Vita* by copying large sections of his available sources. There are suggestive links in how, for instance, Bede and Paul compose the broad contours of Gregory's hagiography and biography, but one can also see that Paul has re-positioned the contents and re-sited his material, and by doing so has created a new work, the first that has Gregory alone as its central feature and subject. If we accept this, we can see a greater originality in the compositional framework of the *VSGM*.

Significantly, we can also see how Paul merged material from historical sources with both patristic and biblical materials. Here his approach to sources is redolent of his mature works where he used material from various literary genres to provide a more rounded picture of the subject at hand. At the same time, however, we should also recognise features of his later works that are absent from the *Vita*. In the first place, as noted by early commentators, and rectified by subsequent extended *Vitae*, there is no place in the *Life* for the miraculous or supernatural.[143] Secondly, also absent is his penchant, particularly noticeable in the *HL*, for both digression and anecdote. Paul's Gregory in the *VSGM* is not only distinctive with respect

141 Bede has the same remark, but it is rendered slightly differently i.e. *'Ecce lingua Britanniae quae nihil aliud noverat quam barbaram frendere, iamdudum in divinis laudibus Hebraeum coepit Alleluia sonare'*. See King, *Bede*, pp. 196-197 and Tuzzo, *Vita*, p. 29. Of course, it may be said that Paul's source could have been either Bede or Gregory the Great himself via his *Moralia*.

142 Gregory of Tour's overall influence on Paul's *Vita* is obviously mitigated by the relatively brief discussion in the *DCL* (at the point when Gregory of Tours died, Gregory the Great had been Pope for only four of his fourteen years). See Thorpe, *History of the Franks*, pp. 543-547 and Krusch, *DCL*, pp. 477-481.

143 The miraculous was an aspect that took centre stage for the early eighth century work *The Life of Gregory* by Anonymous of Whitby. It would seem that Paul was not aware of this lengthy work, which devoted a total of nine chapters to Gregory's miracles alone i.e. chapters 20 to 29. See Colgrave, *Earliest Life*, pp. 48-49 and *Narrators*, p. 371. This absence of miracles in the *VSGM* is discussed by both Limone and Leyser. It shows us the fluid nature of the hagiographical framework built around Gregory as his prestige and importance developed.

to earlier and later hagiographers and biographers, but it is also distinctive when compared to his discussion of Gregory in the *HL*. His notices in the later work possess a distinctively different tone from that of the *Vita*. It is important to consider the similarities and differences between the two treatments, for they represent a rare occasion in which Paul returns to a subject matter in surviving and later works.

The figure of Gregory in the *HL* is presented as one who is at ease, or at least competent to resolve the prevalent issues of the times via the *Realpolitik* of the central Mediterranean basin. We see him depicted, for instance, negotiating truces and communicating with Lombard rulers both in the north and south of the peninsula. These were the same Lombards whose swords we are told threatened Gregory in the *Vita*. Paul's complete references to Gregory in the *HL* can be set out as follows:

Table xiii Notices on Gregory the Great in the *HL*

HL	Chapter	Chapter Subject	Word Count
Book III	13	Gregory composes the *Moralia* and defeats Eutychius of Constantinople in debate	32
	24	Election of Gregory as Pope	210
	25	Gregory sends Augustine to Britain	25
Book IV	5	Gregory writes the *Dialogues* and sends a copy to Theodolinda, the Lombard Queen	61
	8	Peace attained with Agilulf, King of the Lombards	74
	9	Gregory writes to Agilulf and Theodolinda	345
	20	Gregory's letter to Arichis of Benevento	171
	29	The death of Gregory	255
Totals			1173

The table above shows the clear identification of the key themes of Gregory's life that bear reference in both works. The first reference to the composition of the *Moralia* and the debate with Eutychius is considerably shorter in the *HL*, comprising a total of 32 words, which almost suggests it has been inserted as an afterthought into a chapter that also deals with the contacts between Chilperic I (561-584), the Frankish king, the emperor Tiberius II Constantine (578-582), and the military activities of Faroald I *Dux* of Spoleto (570-592).[144] The report on the Eutychian heresy alone in the *Vita* is

144 For Faroald I see Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, p. 73. See also (III.13) *Foulke*, pp. 111-112, *MGH SrL*, *Capo*.

handled with 146 words alone.[145] In terms of the subject matter, the notice here in Book III serves to provide a contextual connection between events in Italy and beyond with Gregory, but does not appear to be marked with any particular significance. Paul does not then return to Gregory until nine chapters later, again in Book III where he discusses Gregory's election as Pope after the death of Pelagius II (579-590) due to a 'grievous pestilence'.[146] Paul tells us that a flood of the river Tiber has encouraged the appearance of serpents and a dragon, which was soon followed by a plague. He describes the calamities as follows:

> *In hac diluvii effusione in tantum apud urbem Romam fluvius Tiberis excrevit, ut aquae eius super muros urbis influerunt et maximos in ea regiones occuparent. Tunc per alveum eiusdem fluminis cum multa serpentium multitudine draco etiam mirae magnitudinis per urbem transiens usque ad mare discendit. Subsecuta statim est hanc inundationem gravissima pestilentia, quam inguinariam appellant.*
> In this outpouring of the flood the river Tiber at the city of Rome rose so much that its waters flowed in over the walls of the city and filled great regions in it. Then through the bed of the same stream a great multitude of serpents and a dragon also of astonishing size passed by the city and descended to the sea. Straightaway a very grievous pestilence called inguinal followed this inundation.[147]

If we examine the *Vita* we discover that the report is strikingly similar:

> *Qua etiam aquarum violentia, horrea Ecclesiae subversa sunt in quibus nonnulla modiorum tritici milia perierunt. Tunc siquidem multit ude serpentiam, cum magno dracone in modum trabis validae per huius fluminis alveum in mare descendit; sed suffocatae bestiae inter salsos maris turbidi fluctus in littore eiectae sunt subsecuta est e vesitgio clades, quam inguinariam vocant.*
> For again by the violence of the waters, the storehouses of the Church were overturned, in which several thousand *modii* of wheat perished. Then indeed a multitude of serpents together with a great dragon descended in the manner of strong ships through the bed of this river to

145 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 12-13, lines 116-132.
146 Horden, *Mediterranean Plague*, in Maas (ed.), *Age of Justinian*, pp. 134-161 and Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, p. 65 and Davis (ed. and trans.), *The Book of Pontiffs to AD 715*, p. 63.
147 *MGH SrL*, pp. 104-105; *Capo*, p. 154; and *Foulke*, p. 127.

> the sea; but the beasts, suffocated among the salty floods of the stormy sea, were thrown up on the shore. Following on closely, a scourge they call the inguinal fever …[148]

Both accounts follow the same trajectory of crisis i.e. a flood, the appearance of serpents and a dragon, pestilence, the death of Pelagius II, and subsequently the election of Gregory, who institutes a sevenfold litany to seek divine assistance. Whilst one might not be entirely surprised that Paul recycles this episode in the *HL*, its context in the latter work marks the difference. In the *HL* notice, these events serve as an introduction to Gregory's elevation, his instrumental actions in orchestrating the Augustine mission to Britain, but also the subsequent five notices in Book IV which predominantly deal with Gregory's interventions and impact upon Italy in the 590s. In the *Vita*, by contrast, this section stands as the conclusion (as we have seen) of the second part of the work as a prelude to the final section on Gregory's pontificate.[149] Not included in the *HL* is the famous legend of the Anglian youths, which acquires some significance in the *Vita* where Paul devotes both chapters fifteen and sixteen in their entirety to the events of the mission and how it developed as a concern of Gregory. By contrast, again, the mission is simply mentioned in the very short chapter of four lines (25 words) between the lengthier chapters that deals with Gregory's election and one that considers the Three Chapters Schism in the province of Aquileia.[150]

Whilst there are evident contrasts in Paul's treatment of Gregory in Book III, it is in Book IV that one can identify the key variances in discussion. Here Paul has chosen to concentrate on the political aspects of Gregory's career. His notices reproduce the text of three of Gregory's letters; to Theodolinda (*c.* 570-628); to her second husband Agilulf (590-616); and, to Arichis I, *Dux* of Benevento (*c.* 590-640).[151] We should note Paul's inclusion of the text of the letters here, which will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 4. Suffice it to say at this point that the letters display Gregory's ability to manage the Lombard challenge by, for instance, an appeal to Agilulf and Theodolinda detailing their similar difficulties. Gregory remarks:

148 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 14-15 (my translation).

149 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 14-20, amounting to 714 words in total.

150 Tuzzo, *Vita*, pp. 25-28, amounting to 368 words. See Foulke, p. 131. For a detailed discussion of this episode, see Lavezzo, 'Another Country', in Lawton, Scase and Copeland (eds.), *New Medieval Literatures*, pp. 67-93.

151 Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, pp. 86-87.

> *Nam si, quod absit facta non fuisset quid agi habuit nisi ut cum peccato et periculo partium miserorum rusticorum sanguis, quorum labor utrisque proficit funderetur?*
> If it [i.e. the peace] had not been made, which God forbid what could have happened but that the blood of the wretched peasants whose labour helps us both would be shed to the sin and ruin of both parties?[152]

Here we see Gregory presented as a pragmatist more concerned with peasant labours than the eschatological symbolism that is represented by the chaos caused by the Lombard invasion. It is a feature that can be identified throughout Paul's comments on Gregory in Book IV. This image is entirely absent in the second and third parts of the *Vita*. Finally, Paul's presentation of Gregory is underscored by his final notice which records Gregory's death. Gregory was 'unwilling to take part in the death of the Lombards' [*in morte Langobardorum … se noluerit ammisceri*].[153] The note here is not necessarily one of an ascetic pontiff anxious to avoid pollution in political matters, but rather one which points instead to Gregory's direct involvement in earthly concerns.

Given this variance between the two works and this presentation of Gregory, one can see the hagiographical framework that Paul has sought to create. As remarked earlier, Paul concentrates on Gregory's activities as an ascetic, an evangelist (for the English), a bishop, and a monastic founder. With these foundations, there was no need for the inclusion of the miraculous, since Paul had evidently demonstrated the holiness of Gregory without the need to dwell upon his miracles either pre- or post-mortem. His use and re-use of earlier writers such as Gregory of Tours points the way to his more developed and sophisticated source use in later works, but also provides us with clear notice of his ability to re-fashion material to create wholly new works. Whilst we do not know whether the *VSGM* was a commission or the immediate context of its creation, we can see that Paul has developed an ability to create and frame new styles in genre; that he is not limited by self-imposed genre constraint, but not reluctant at the same time to fashion his materials as he desires. This skill would stand him in good stead for a commission that we do know about and which he undertook in Francia, the subject of the next part of this chapter.

152 *MGH SrL*, p. 120 and *Foulke*, p. 157.
153 *MGH SrL*, p. 127 and *Foulke*, p. 173.

Sancta et Venerabilis Mettensium Urbis: The *Gesta Episcopum Mettensium*

As noted in Chapter 1, whilst resident in Francia, Paul accepted a commission to produce a history of the bishops of Metz from Angilramn (d. 791), the incumbent bishop and arch-chaplain of Charlemagne.[154] Whilst subsequent commentators have entitled the work either the *Gesta Episcopum Mettensium* or the *Liber de Episcopis Mettensibus*, the 'idiosyncratic manuscript transmission', as the recent modern editor Damien Kemp has noted, makes it 'difficult to know whether Paul gave a title to the work'.[155] In some important respects, as we shall see, the work does not quite live up to its title. It is, nonetheless, and despite the rather patchy nature of its contents, an important work that provides a significant window upon Paul's own responses to his patrons and the family of Charlemagne. In this respect, one has the distinct impression that Paul had a rather thin collection of materials to use and given this, his structural arrangements were clearly used to make the best of what he had and, more significantly, to promote the interests of both his direct and indirect patrons.

Comment on the *Gesta* has concentrated on its failure to provide details of the actual deeds of the bishops it presents. Both early commentators such as [Antoine] Augustin Calmet (1672-1757) in his *Histoire de Lorraine* of 1745 and modern scholars such as Guy Halsall have been un-impressed by the work.[156] Goffart's analysis of the *Gesta*, the subject of a rare article on the work of 1986 and a later reconsideration in his more extensive 1988 work, the *Narrators of Barbarian History*, has been influential, but neither adequately considered or challenged by commentators. For Goffart, the *Gesta* can 'shed un-expected light on Charlemagne's designs for the transmission of the *regna*' and the work was written to 'commemorate … discretely certain events vitally concerning the entire Frankish church and kingdom'.[157] Clearly, any close reading of the *Gesta* will be able to identify a component of Carolingian bias, but whether it

154 For Angilramn see '*Angelrand*' in Parisot, *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*. See *HL* VI.16:*MGH SrL*, p. 170 and *Foulke*, p. 263.

155 Kempf, *Paul the Deacon: Liber de Episcopis Mettensibus*, p. 8.

156 Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, col.xix, '*Paul Diacre nous a donné une suite des Évêques de Metz depuis S.Clement jusqu'à Crodegrand mais il ne marque ni le tem*[*p*]*s de leur Episcopat ni celui de leur mort. Il se contente de marquer la dureé de leur Episcopat; de même que les anciennes Tables de l'Evêché de Metz.*' Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organisation*, p. 217, 'disappointing'.

157 Goffart, *Paul the Deacon's Gesta,* p. 59.

was written principally to shed light on Charlemagne's intentions with regard to his successors and the division of the Frankish *imperium* remains rather arguable at best. The details of Goffart's argument here remain rather un-compelling and speculative, since they seem to depend upon a close association of certain episodes with recent (i.e. the early 780s and in particular 781) Carolingian dynastic difficulties. Goffart's view, however, that the work is a 'literary curiosity and a mirror of Carolingian thought' is a more useful starting point when one considers both the context of the work and its contents. Kempf, in considering Goffart's approach, suggested that if one perceived the work alone 'as a work of royal propaganda, designed to promote the rule of the Carolingian king' that such a response to the work 'relies on a superficial reading … and ignores the role of Angilramn'.[158] Naturally it is easier to object than to improve, but in both his 2004 article and subsequent edition of the *Gesta* (of 2013), Kempf has continued to elucidate the significance of the role and place of Metz, which for him should be identified as the primordial *raison d'être* for the commission.[159] In what follows, we shall see that this was indeed one part of Paul's approach, and a significant one at that. Indeed, whilst it can be described as a 'justification and glorification of Carolingian power', a detailed analysis of the work's structure will allow us to demonstrate that Paul's use of a narrative strategy satisfies three linked *leitmotifs*.[160] These were:

1 to satisfy his patron's requirements i.e. the promotion of Metz as both a *lieu-de-memoire* of the Carolingian dynasty and consequently as a *lieu-de-pouvoir;*
2 to emphasise Carolingian legitimacy and to link this into the history of Metz as a centre of Merovingian power in Austrasia;
3 to link Metz with St. Peter and Rome and thus mark Metz as the crucial conduit for reform and renewal of the Frankish Church.

If these objectives are recognised in the work, one may view it as more than 'a peculiar and enigmatic literary object', but as a significant item in terms of Paul's ability to satisfy patrons in a commission and to manipulate his

158 Kempf, *Liber*, p. 1.
159 Kempf, *Paul the Deacon: Liber de Episcopis Mettensibus* (2004) and Kempf, *Liber* (2013).
160 Leonardi, *La Figura di Paolo Diacono* in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli*, p. 14, '*è una giustificazione e glorificazione del potere carolingio*'.

sources for his purposes, using the structural arrangement of the work to enhance his material.[161]

The *Gesta* amounts to just over 3600 words and is thus roughly the same length as the second work of Paul's that we considered, the *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*.[162] The manuscript tradition is not extensive.[163] Amongst the seven surviving texts the earliest pertains to the late 9th/early 10th-centuries and is thus not an exemplar from the Carolingian period.[164] In most respects, Kempf's recent edition supersedes the *MGH* edition of Pertz, which had suggested that the earliest manuscript witness was from the 11th/12th-centuries.[165] Whilst Pertz did note earlier printed versions of the text that had used manuscripts then lost, he had used, as Kempf remarks, three modern editions and only one manuscript held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat.5294.[166] It is also worth noting that whilst the manuscript tradition is a limited one, the surviving materials all have an origin in the Metz or Trier regions, where clearly its importance and significance were appreciated. Any examination of the work's impact over the longer term needs to take this into account; nonetheless, the *Gesta* still has significance for an assessment of Paul's writing career, not least for its production at the heart of the Carolingian court. Let us now turn to examine the structure and content of the work.

In terms of organisation the work has four principal 'moments' in which four of the bishops are discussed in greater detail than the other 33 individuals listed in the work. The structure can be depicted as shown below in Table xiv:

161 Kempf, *Liber*, p. 1.

162 This is inclusive of the epitaphs. They are a crucial element to the narrative, though they do not in themselves form part of the core subject matter. Their significance lies in the way that Paul weaves them into his discussion of Carolingian genealogy, as we shall see below.

163 Sot, *Le Liber Episcopis Mettensibus* in *Chiesa*, p. 527.

164 For the full list, see Kempf, *Liber*, p. 34.

165 I.e.MS Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* lat.5294 fols.1v-16r – first half of the XIth s. origin the abbey of St Symphorian in Metz. See Kempf, *Liber* p. 34 and also p. 38.

166 *PL*, col.699 from Pertz's introduction. The earlier materials used were notably Du Chesne, *Scriptorum Franciorum*, pp. 201-206; Freher, *Corpore Historiae Franciae*, pp. 171-177. See Pertz (ed.), *MGH Scriptorum Tomus* ii, p. 260. See also, *Narrators*, p. 373. Kempf's new edition, it should be remembered, also uses lat.5294 as the foundation of the edition.

Table xiv The Structure of the *Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium*

Scene	Subject	Bishop	Lines	Word-count
I	The First Bishop	Clement	1-33	335
	Bishops ii-xii		34-56	234
	(Bishop ix and x)	Rufus and Adolfus		153
II	The Thirteenth Bishop	Auctor	57-138	922
	Bishops xiv-xxviii		138-147	85
III	The Twenty-Ninth Bishop	Arnulf	148-174	299
	Arnulf, Ansegisel and Chlodulf		148-190	492
Digression	The Deeds and Ancestors of Charlemagne		190-224	361
	Epitaphs		226-311	492
	Bishops xxx-xxxvi		312-330	168
	(Bishop xxxvi)	Sigebald		62
IV	The Thirty-Seventh Bishop	Chrodegang	331-368	509
	Conclusion (Bishop xxxviii)	Angilramn	369-371	32
Totals			**371 lines**	**3630 words**

In terms of word-length alone, as the table notes, the totals of 335 words devoted to Clement (i.e. 33 lines in the *MGH* edition); 922 to Auctor (i.e. 81 lines); 299 to Arnulf (i.e. 26 lines on him alone); and 509 words to Chrodegang (i.e. 37 lines) equate to 47% of the total work in terms of overall length by lines or 56% of the total work in terms of word count.[167] Whilst these four 'moments' have gathered the greatest historical comment, the inter-linking sections also have significance as the key connections to the main passages. In this regard the digression that is interposed between material on Arnulf (582-643), the sainted ancestor of Charlemagne, and his successor 'Goeric who was also called Abbo' [*Goericus ... qui et Abbo vocitatus est*][168] on the deeds and ancestors of Charlemagne, together

167 This represents 9.22 percent, 25.39 percent, 13.55 percent, and 14.02 percent respectively. If we also include the smaller sections on Rufus and Adolfus, we have 4.21 percent and for Sigebald just 1.7 percent of the whole work. Arnulf, Ansegisel, and Chlodulf amount to 492 words, the deeds and ancestors of Charlemagne totals 361, and the epitaphs also amount to 492 words, equalling 1325 words, over a third of the total word count of the work.

168 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 84-85

with a reproduction of a number of epitaphs for Carolingian queens and princesses, is significant.[169]

The four detailed moments discussed below are linked by what appear to be rather straightforward catalogues of names; thus, for instance, Felix and Patiens and two Victors are simply noted as ruling the church in Metz:

> *Post hunc denique regendam suscepit Ecclesiam Felix. Deinde Patiens. Post hos quintus in ordine Victor. Deinde alius Victor. Post hos Symeon septimus. Post quem Sambatius octavus'.*
> And then after him, Felix received the rule of the church. Then Patiens. After these Victor, the fifth in order. Then another Victor. After him, Symeon the seventh. After him Sambatius the eighth.[170]

Paul's comment immediately thereafter that 'it is certain that by their zeal the Church of God increased, even though their deeds in detail are unknown to us' [*quorum omnium studiis certum est crevisse Dei Ecclesiam, quamvis eorum nobis specialiter occulta sunt gesta*][171] would seem to be one based on hope rather than any detail. Where one can compare Paul's thin catalogue with other materials, it is noteworthy that problems appear that would undermine even the comprehensive nature of the list and its accuracy. In the life of St. Radegund (*c.* 520-587) by Venantius Fortunatus (*c.* 530-*c.* 600/609), for instance, a certain Gundulf is mentioned as a later bishop of Metz whose monastery Radegund 'energetically enriched'.[172] The complete absence of Gundulf and possibly other bishops of Metz highlights the misconception

169 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 78-85. Those remembered are Rothaid and Adelhaid, daughters of Charlemagne's father Pepin, Charlemagne's Queen Hildegard, and Adelhaid and Hildegard, young daughters of Charlemagne.

170 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 60-61, with slight amendment to the translation.

171 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 60-61.

172 'Likewise going on to the retreat of holy Gundulf, later Bishop of Metz, she exerted herself, just as energetically to enrich his monastery' [*aequiter sancti Gundulfi post facti Mettis episcopi progressa receptaculo, non minore laboratu nobilitavit synergium*]. See Jo Ann McNamara, John F. Halborg with E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), pp. 60-105 at p. 76 and Bruno Krusch (ed.), *MGH: Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum Tomus II: Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica, Vitae Sanctorum* (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1888), *De Vita Radegundis libri II*, pp. 358-395 at p. 369. Krusch notes that '*Gundulfi Mettensis episcopi praeter Fortunatum nemo mentionem fecit'*. See also Werner, *Noble Families in Charlemagne's Kingdom* in Reuter (ed.), *The Medieval Nobility*, pp. 154-155 and n. 22 on p. 188. Werner would interpose Gundulf between Petrus and Agiulfus. Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organisation*, p. 15. Gundulf is neither discussed nor listed by Gauthier in Gauthier, *L'évangélisation des pays de la Moselle*, pp. 213-215 for narrative and pp. 459-460 for the list of bishops.

entailed by the title applied to the work by subsequent commentators, since it is evident that it does not simply operate as an ecclesiastical model, dealing with each of the incumbents of the see of Metz in turn (reminiscent of the *Liber Pontificalis*). Instead Paul used the bishops as a skeletal framework upon which he placed his four narrative 'moments'.[173] Thus he was able to link the see of Metz with the apostolic see *par excellence*, Rome; Carolingian rulers – principally Charlemagne with his virtuous and saintly Arnulfing antecedents; and, finally, link specific bishops such as Chrodegang (d. 766) to the programme of reform and Carolingian *correctio*.[174] These connections allow a link between the four narrative moments which develop from broad inter-connected themes as shown below in Table XV:

Table xv Themes of the *GEM*'s four narrative moments

Bishops	Themes
Clement	Foundation
Auctor	Survival
Arnulf	Renewal
Chrodegang	Reform and *Correctio*

Goffart's structural theory, adumbrated most recently in his *Narrators of Barbarian History* (1988) used a set of 'four literary proto-types' to explain the four narrative moments. These proto-types are modelled upon the Bible and the Book of Genesis in particular (notably for the first three of the four sections).[175] The fourth, however (i.e. that which deals with Chrodegang), the *Liber Pontificalis* of the Popes, is used as a 'template'. Thus Goffart asserts 'a fragment of Genesis is mirrored in a moment of the history of Metz that in turn portrays or speaks to eighth-century conditions'.[176] His final version of the literary prototypes in tabular form is depicted below in Table xvi. The use of a biblical model, and one connected to the book of Genesis, is

173 See Kempf, *Liber*, p. 9: 'Paul does not seem interested in giving a comprehensive account of the bishops of Metz'.

174 See the useful comments of Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 9-10.

175 Goffart's line of subtle thought is explained in his *Traditio* article (1986), which takes as its starting point the biblical analogy of Isaac blessing Jacob; an obvious similarity then occurs with Arnulf and his younger son Ansegisel. See Goffart, *Paul the Deacon's Gesta*, pp. 67, 71, and 74-87.

176 *Narrators*, p. 375 and Sot, *Le Liber Episcopis Mettensibus* in *Chiesa*, p. 544. Sot would seem to endorse Goffart's structural arrangement. Kempf does not engage with the issue in his useful Introduction to the edition of the text.

an ingenious suggestion; whilst attractive, however, it does not (as Goffart noted himself) operate across the whole work. We are left with the fourth and final moment – which is semi-attached to the previous moments and as noted above clearly modelled on the *Liber Pontificalis* – a work that Paul had known and used. In many respects, this final section, positioned directly after the Carolingian digression, is the crucial key to the whole work. Possibly, we can see here the original intentions of Paul's patron Angilramn. We see this through the care that Paul took to connect the reforms of Chrodegang back to the deeds of the first bishop, Clement, sent from Rome by Peter. Now let us turn to analyse how Paul designed his work to attain a blend of his limited source materials and his interconnected and inter-related themes.

Table xvi Goffart's Literary Prototypes (in *Narrators of Barbarian History*)[177]

Prototype	Bishop	*Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium*
Creation	i	Scene I: Apostolic Foundation of the See of Metz
	ii-xii	*Names of Bishops*
Deluge	xiii	Scene II: Bishop Auctor and the Church of St. Stephen weathers the Hunnic Storm
	xiv-xxviii	*Names of Bishops*
Isaac Blesses Jacob	xxix	Scene III: St. Arnulf and his descendants: The Carolingians
	xxx-xxvi	*Names of Bishops*
Liber Pontificalis	xxxvii	Scene IV: Bishop Chrodegang and Roman Renewal at Metz

Paul's first narrative moment deals with Clement, the first bishop of Metz. He commences by linking Clement to the apostle Peter and back through Peter to the Ascension and Jesus. Here Paul emphasised the famous intervention of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost:

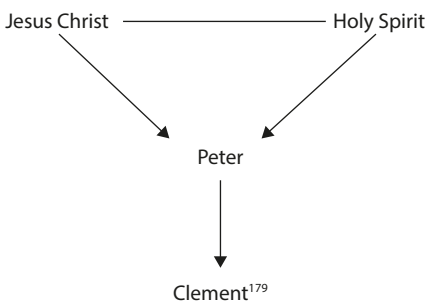
> *Postquam, peractis omnibus que cum Patre pro mundi salute gerenda disposuerat, Christus Dominus migravit ad celos, statim ut promisso Sancti Spiritus munere beati apostoli potiti sunt et confirmati, ilico quam unusquisque eorum provinciam vel regionem praedicaturus aggredi deberet.*
> Having accomplished everything he had arranged with his father for the salvation of the world, Jesus Christ, our Lord departed to heaven. As soon

177 *Narrators*, p. 374. See also Goffart, *Paul the Deacon's Gesta*, p. 67, which has a slightly simple version of the fully developed design.

> as the blessed apostles were given the promised gift of the Holy Spirit and confirmed, immediately they gathered together and determined by lot, according to divine Providence, to which province or region each one of them was to go to preach.[178]

Sot's diagrammatic depiction illustrates the important note of divine connection that flows from Jesus to Clement via Peter as below:

Diagram ii Divine connections to Metz in the *GEM*



Paul then tells us that having founded a church earlier in Antioch, Peter then 'rushed with all haste to the city (i.e. Rome) which was then the head of the whole world' [*ad eam que totius tunc mundi caput erat … tota alacritate contendit*].[180] Subsequently, Peter sent from his new base in Rome 'the best and most learned men of his companions' [*optimos eruditosque viros ex suo consortis*].[181] These men were 'to bring under their yoke all the chief cities of the West' [*ilico qui summas quasque urbes in occiduo positus Christo Domino per verbum fidei subiugarent*].[182] One of these cities in *Gallia Belgica* was Metz, to whom Peter had sent Clement. From the outset, we see that the foundation of the bishopric at Metz was closely linked to both Rome

178 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 48-49.
179 Sot, *Le Liber de Episcopis Mettensibus*, p. 541.
180 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 48-49 and *MGH AA*, p. 261.
181 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 48-49 and *MGH AA*, p. 261.
182 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 48-49 and *MGH AA*, p. 261. For discussion of the cities selected see Goffart, *Paul the Deacon's Gesta*, p. 71: 'The featured Italian cities Ravenna, Brundisium, Milan and Aquileia were not casually chosen by St Peter as likely destinations for his disciples. The author's rationale was that the apostle should bring about the foundation of the three other metropolitan sees of the peninsula (the role of Brundisium is less clear)'.

and to Rome's apostolic founder.[183] We shall see this link emphasised and reiterated subsequently in the following narrative moments.

Once Clement is depicted as having attained his mission in Metz, it is clear that Paul had little if any reliable material.[184] So far as Clement was concerned, we are told that he was 'a distinguished man and one proven in his merits who had been raised to the dignity of a bishop' [*virum egregium ac meritis probatum sublimatum pontificale dignitate …*].[185] Otherwise Paul invokes what he calls an *'antiqua … relatio'* [an ancient tradition] which indicated that Clement was not the only 'religious teacher' sent to the cities of Gaul by the '*principe apostolorum'* [the chief of the Apostles].[186] Further details are not forthcoming at this point before Paul provides further notices on Clement. First, he tells us that Clement resided in the caves of an amphitheatre located outside the city wherein he built an oratory and consecrated an altar in the name of his preceptor the 'Blessed apostle Peter' [*beati Petri apostoli*][187] Secondly, once Clement had made the amphitheatre his centre of activity: 'no snake was able to stay and harmful plagues absolutely flee from the place where the signs of true salvation once arose' [*… nec serpens consistere queat sed et omnino noxie pestes locum illum refugiunt, unde olim vere salutis emanarunt modo insignia*].[188] Both notices are introduced with the remark 'they say' and 'those who have knowledge of this place assert'

183 Also listed in this regard were Ravenna (Apollinaris); Brindisi (Leucius); and Milan (Anatolius). Notably, Aquileia, also mentioned, was originally under the charge of Mark before his departure to Alexandria. See Goffart, *Paul the Deacon's Gesta*, pp. 69-71. Goffart discourages the idea that there is an apostolic link between Metz via Clement and Peter on the basis that such 'a perspective is too parochial' and that 'the Clement he writes about has no personal connection to St Peter; nothing distinguishes him from the un-named doctors whom Peter sent to other major cities of Gaul' (p. 70); and see also, Kempf, *Liber*, p. 25 and the further references therein, but specifically, Jean-Charles Picard, *Le Souvenir des evêques: Sepultures, listes episcopales et culte des evêques en Italie du Nord des origines au IX siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1988), pp. 693-697. Picard suggested that Paul drew upon the *Passio SS. Hermachorae et Fortunati*: '*cette tradition n'est pas prepare à Grado, mais a été également adoptée par Cividale, comme le confirme, la liste des patrons du siège de Cividale dans les diplômes de Charlemagne … le seul probleme est de savoir si la rédaction de la Passio SS Hermachorae et Fortunati est antérieure ou non à celle du Libellus de Paul Diacre; celui-ci s'inspire-t-il seulement d'une tradition orale, on a-t-il eu en mains le texte de la passion*' (pp. 585-587), but Picard also notes that '*les liaisons du Frioul avec la Francie étaient intermittentes …*' (p. 587).

184 For the historicity of Clement, Gauthier, *L'évangélisation,* p. 17 and p. 22 and Duchesne, *Fastes Épiscopaux de l'Ancienne Gaule*, pp. 50-51.

185 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 48-49.

186 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 48-49.

187 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 50-51.

188 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 50-51.

i.e. *ut ferunt* and *asseverant qui eiusdem loci cognitionem habent*.[189] Here it is evident that Paul has combined oral traditions with his own ability to extend and deepen rather meagre morsels of note. It is not clear, however, from these remarks that Paul himself had visited Metz to acquire or enquire about the traditions of Clement. It may simply have been Angilramn or his associates who were the providers of the ancient tradition and relayed this to Paul in the first instance. Paul's use of oral traditions is an important feature of his historical narratives and we shall consider this again on a number of occasions when we analyse the details of his *HL*. At this juncture, we can say that this is an early example of his penchant for merging oral and literary materials, connected by rather vague passages without chronological or diagnostic detail. Thus, Paul says of Clement:

> this venerable priest then while preaching to the peoples of the city with patient admonition led with the help of divine mercy, a great many of them, liberated from the sordid cults of idols and the blindness of error, toward the splendour of the true faith; he shone forth in these regions as the first who showed justice and pointed out the truth.
> *is igitur venerandus sacerdos dum sedula ammonitione eiusdem urbis populis predicaret, cooperante sibi divina Misericordia, maximam ex eis multitudinem a sordidis idolorum cultibus et erroris cecitate liberatam ad vere fidei splendorem perduxit, primusque in illis regionibus ostensor iustitiae et index veritatis enituit*.[190]

This lengthy set of observations which connects Paul's two notices from oral traditions would also appear, akin to his comments on the early bishops that followed Clement, to depend on Paul's own dexterity as a writer rather than any specific source, be that oral or literary.

The first section, whilst modest in detail, retains an important structural significance.[191] Despite the less than satisfactory notices he supplies on the actual activities of Clement, lengthy observations on its apostolic connections to Peter and Rome and a number of important Italian sees allows the reader to formulate a view that Metz was a bishopric of importance for the whole of Gaul/Francia. It is presented as a see that occupies significance

189 Kempf, *Liber*, p. 50.

190 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 50-51.

191 It should be remembered that a subsequent writer interposed a lengthy addition at some point in the late tenth century. See Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 35-36.

above and beyond other dioceses.[192] Yet the development of Metz is elucidated subsequently through the on-going transit of Paul's remarks in the second and further narrative sections which follow.

Although the relatively brief section that connects Clement with the thirteenth bishop, Auctor, has comparatively few details, Paul dwells upon a 'great miracle' [*fulsere miraculo*] with respect to Rufus and Adelfus, the ninth and tenth bishops, which occurs after their deaths.[193] Once again we see an item whose origins are uncertain. Paul indicates that the 'story had come down to us' [*sicut ad nos usque decurrit*], but not in what format or indeed how. It is also useful at this point to note that in this same interlinear section Paul refers to a *'relatio prisca'* or original account.[194] It is perhaps tempting to suggest that here we have references to some written and probably local account of the church in Metz that Paul accessed to supplement the oral traditions he used. If such a source was used, however, it did not provide extensive assistance to Paul's work beyond these rather modest notices.

Once Paul has reached the second narrative section which deals with Auctor, one sees that he had both more material at hand and more to say. Yet it is noticeable that there are no biographical details of Auctor's life, save that Paul indicates he was bishop during the appearance of the Huns in Gaul (presumably) in 450-451.[195] Instead, Paul rehearses two linked-miracle stories.[196] The first story only relates to Auctor indirectly because it discusses Servatius/Arvatius, bishop of Tongres/Tongeren. Servatius travels to Rome 'to the most sacred bodies of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to beg especially from the Lord, by their lofty merit, that He would turn away his angry indignation and free the people of Tongres/Tongeren from such a great destruction' [*beatus Servatius Tungrorum episcopus … Romam ad beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli sacratissima corpora perrexit, ut per eorum sublime meritum specialiter a Domino impetraret, quatenus ire sue indignationum averteret, et Tungrensis urbis populum a tanto exitio*

192 The difficulty for Paul, at the point of composition, turned on the relatively modest significance of the diocese in the early eighth century, which had been somewhat refreshed by the activities of Chrodegang and his successor Angilramn, but as Bullough notes, so far as Angilramn's title was concerned, it was ambiguous since it was a purely 'personal one'. Bullough, *Charlemagne's Men of God* in Story (ed.), *Charlemagne*, p. 144.

193 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 60-61.

194 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 62-63. See also in the same work p.26 re: the *Versus de episcopis Mettensibus,* in which only Clement and Angilramn have lengthy sections.

195 See Thompsons, *The Huns*, pp. 148-156.

196 *MGH AA*, p. 262. He presents three episodes; see Sot, *Le Liber Episcopis Mettensibus* in *Chiesa*, p. 543.

liberaret].[197] Curiously, at this point in his narrative, Paul indicates that it is revealed that 'all of Gaul' [*universa Gallia*], including no doubt Tongres/Tongeren, would be subject to the destruction of the barbarians 'except for the chapel of the blessed Levite and proto-martyr St. Stephen' which is pointedly described as being 'near Metz' [*preter beati Stephanis levite et prothomartyris situm apud Mettis oratorium*].[198] Paul's presentation of the story is curious in that his source for the activities of Servatius/Arvatius is revealed thereafter, when we hear that the Huns have wreaked their destruction on Gaul.[199] He reports:

> I will not pass over in silence what blessed Gregory bishop of Tours told in his books about this oratory.
> *Quod etiam de hoc oratorio beatus Gregorius Turonorum episcopus in suis libris narravit, non silebo.*[200]

A careful comparison of the pertinent passage in Gregory's *Decem Libri Historiarum* (*DCL*) reveals that Paul has omitted the part of the story concerning Servatius/Arvatius, in particular, the pious circumstances of his death in Tongres/Tongeren. Paul has also conflated this material with local traditions from Metz which connect Auctor to the events of the 450s.[201] There is, however, direct use of Gregory's words, particularly the supernatural intervention of St. Stephen with the apostles Peter and Paul, which saves the oratory, but not the city.[202] Auctor's direct actions during the course of the destruction of Metz are then recounted. As a prisoner of the Huns, Auctor reveals to his captors how to escape a 'deep darkness' [*tenebre*] that has surrounded them on condition that they will release the prisoners. Thus 'immediately the Huns sought out in their whole army the captives they were leading and delivered them to the blessed Auctor; the darkness passed away, the light returned and they were liberated from their distress as promised' [*Et mox in universo suo Huni exercitu captivos quos*

197 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 62-63.
198 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 66-67.
199 *MGH AA*, p. 262. Paul has conflated two episodes described by Gregory of Tours into one. Gauthier, *L'évangélisation des pays de la Moselle*, p. 140 and Barnish, *Old Kaspars* in Drinkwater and Elton (eds.), *Fifth-Century Gaul*, p. 43.
200 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 66-67.
201 The passages are from II.5 and II.6. See Krusch, *MGH SrM*, pp. 45-48 and Thorpe, *History of the Franks*, pp. 114-116.
202 'Go in peace beloved brother', [*Vade in pace dilectissime frater*]. See Krusch, *MGM SrM*, p. 47 and Thorpe, *History of the Franks*, p. 115.

ducebant requirentes, beato Auctori reddiderunt a suis, ut eis promissum fuerat, cessantibus tenebris, luce reddita, angustiis liberati sunt].[203] Auctor had thus triumphed over the 'cruel barbarians' [*crudeles barbari*].[204]

The second miracle, which concludes Paul's account of Auctor, relates the miraculous restoration of the altar of St. Stephen. A beam, we are told, had fallen from the roof and broken the marble altar (which we are also informed incidentally was remarkably white [*eximii candoris*]) into two pieces, which were then restored to unity by Auctor's divine sacrifice. Paul's further comments are worth re-producing here in full:

> It is still upon the same marble that one can gaze in great wonder today. Indeed it looks almost broken to those who examine it, but when touched attentively with the fingers, it proves to be so solid that no sign of fracture is discernible.
> *Est tamen in eodem marmore, quod non mediocriter usque in presentem diem possit admirari. Nam ita apparet hactenus cernentibus quasi divisum, sed studiose contretactum digitis, ita probatur solidum ut nullius in eo divisionis sentiatur iudicium.*[205]

It would be easy to make the assumption from this passage that Paul recounts his own visit to the oratory – and, indeed, this assumption that he knew the city is entirely reasonable – were it not for the absence of any description of the churches of Metz. One must exercise caution here and conclude that there is still some doubt as to whether or not Paul recounts his own experience.

As Kempf notes, this narrative of Auctor is somewhat 'repetitive and rather oddly constructed'.[206] Indeed, the material from Gregory of Tours to add some detail to a local tradition on Auctor does not entirely work. Whilst the treatment of Auctor and the Hunnic sack of Metz are more significant to the organisational structure of the work as a whole than has generally been allowed, we see as we did with Clement an emphasis on both the apostolic connection and protection of Metz in the face of calamitous circumstances. Thus whilst it is the Huns who devastate all of the West and Gaul, for this section the significance is supplied by Metz, which is presented

203 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 68-69.
204 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 68-69.
205 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 68-71. See also *MGH AA*, p. 263 and Gauthier, *L'évangélisation des pays de la Moselle,* p. 142.
206 Kempf, *Liber*, p. 28.

as a symbol of the cathartic destruction they wrought. Metz has suffered for all of Gaul,though, this time, rises again.[207] Here, then the Hunnic sack of Metz allows Paul to emphasise the impact of Arnulf's renewal of the church in the third section that follows and its further reform by Chrodegang in the fourth section. The crisis of the church in Metz is pushed back before Clovis (*c.* 481-511), before the Merovingians ruled Gaul, and so the next section on Arnulf is able to assume the pivot to the whole work. At the same time, once again, Paul places the see's apostolic connections at the centre of his narrative, underscoring the importance of both Metz and Angilramn in the new panorama of Carolingian renewal. In emphasising these attributes, Paul is then able to present the third narrative moment as a dramatic change in the fortunes of both the city and the bishopric.

The third section is preceded by a short inter-linking passage that covers the rest of the fifth century and all of the sixth before reaching the tenure of Arnulf in the seventh century. We see again, so far as detail on Arnulf's career and activities is concerned, a rather vague report. Paul's comment that:

> He accomplished many miracles both while he remained in the body and after the end of his life – if anyone wishes to know them, he should read the little book that was written especially about these deeds.
> *Hic denique et in corpore permanens, simul et post vite exitum multa admiranda patravit, que si quis nosse desiderat, libellum qui de eius specialiter actibus conscriptus est, legat.*[208]

would suggest that he was aware of the *Vita Arnulfi,* but had elected not to use its details to extend his own treatment of Arnulf.[209] Indeed we see in this section the further development of the two themes that Paul had presented earlier in the work. If combined with the digressions on the deeds and ancestors of Charlemagne and the epitaphs of Carolingian princesses and a queen, this section marks the principal core of the work. The material can be further sub-divided into related segments as follows:

1 Arnulf, the bishop and 'Moderator'
2 The sins of Arnulf forgiven: The Ring and the Fish

207 Kempf, *Paul the Deacon's Liber,* pp. 294-295; Sot, *Le Liber Episcopis Mettensibus* in *Chiesa*, p. 543; and see Barnish, *Old Kaspars* in Drinkwater and Elton (eds.), *Fifth-Century Gaul*, p. 44.
208 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 70-71.
209 See Sot, *Le Liber Episcopis Mettensibus* in *Chiesa*, pp. 535 and 537.

3 The sons of Arnulf: Chlodulf and Ansegisel
4 The deeds and descendants of Arnulf (via Ansegisel to Charles Martel and Charlemagne)
5 Carolingian epitaphic poetry – those buried and thus linked in death with both Arnulf and Metz.[210]

From the first three sections, two episodes provide a re-elaboration of his themes but also remind his readers of the personal holiness of Arnulf and the exemplary path that his progeny via Ansegisel inherited. The first of these is the story of the ring in the stomach of the fish. Briefly, the story relates how Arnulf 'was doing penance because of some faults' [*Hic denique cum penitentiam pro aliquantibus excessibus ageret*][211] when he crossed a bridge on the river Moselle, at which point he decided to throw his ring into the water with the assertion that: 'I will consider myself freed from the net of my sins when I recover the ring that I am throwing now' [*me putabo culparum nexibus absolutum, quando istum quem proiicio recepero anulum*].[212] Several years later, the ring is recovered from the belly of a fish that had been cooked by Arnulf's chef which, upon presentation, Arnulf recognised, resolving thereafter 'to compel himself to greater abstinence' [*sed maiori se potius abstinentiam coartavit*].[213] In itself, of course, the story provides us with knowledge of the divine approval of Arnulf, and thus by implication his descendants down to Charlemagne. It is additionally highly significant and redolent of Paul's tastes in rather evocative detail that Paul concludes the section by indicating:

> I learned this story not from a mediocre man, but from the defender of all truth, the lofty king Charles who descended from the family of Arnulf, and is his great-great-great grandson.

210 See Goffart, *Paul the Deacon's Gesta*, p. 75.

211 Kempf, Liber, pp. 70-71 and *MGH AA*, p. 264. The story, it should be emphasised, is not in the *Vita Arnulfi*. See Krusch (ed.) *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, p. 434. See also Cracco-Ruggini, *The Crisis of the Noble Saint* in Fontaine and Hillgarth (eds)., *Le Septième Siècle: Changements et Continuités/The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity*, p. 125, n. 18 and Fathori, *I sancti antenati carolingi*, pp. 509-510.

212 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 72-73. Was Arnulf's involvement in the murder of Chrodoald in 624-625 the un-mentioned sin for which he undertook penance? See Wallace-Hadrill, *Chronicle of Fredegar*, p. 43. Whilst not directly involved in the death of Chrodoald, Arnulf is listed amongst those who bore him ill will.

213 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 72-73.

> *Hec ego non a qualibet mediocri persona didici, sed ipso totius veritatis assertore, precelso rege Karolo, referente cognovi, qui de eiusdem beati Arnulfi descendens prosapia ei in generationis linea trinepos extabat.*[214]

This personal testimony of Charlemagne reveals not only Paul's own proximity to the Frankish king and his court (and the sort of story that the king liked to tell about his own distant ancestors and presumably believed to be significant), but also the accumulated traditions of a Carolingian ancestor and his personal holiness.

Having noted the personal testimony of Charlemagne, Paul moved back to his main narrative on Arnulf with an episode that explicitly provides the link between Arnulf and the Carolingians, thus preparing his readers for both the genealogical and historical notes that follow. He relates how Arnulf invited his two sons, Chlodulf the elder (*c.* 605-696/697) (who subsequently becomes a bishop of Metz) and the younger Ansegisel (d. 662-679) to agree to donate their inheritances to the poor. Ansegisel received his father's blessing when he obeyed his wishes. Arnulf then:

> blessed him and all his progeny that would be born in the future. And that is what happened. For Ansegisel received more riches than he had abandoned and the paternal benediction came true for him in such a way and his family gave birth to such strong and vigorous men that the kingship of the Franks was deservedly transferred to his line.
> *insuper benedici eum eiusque cunctam progeniem nasciturum in posteram. Factumque est. Nam et pluriores Anschiso quam reliquerat divitiae accesserunt et ita in eo paterna est constabilita beneficia, ut de eius progenie tam strenui fortesque viri.*[215]

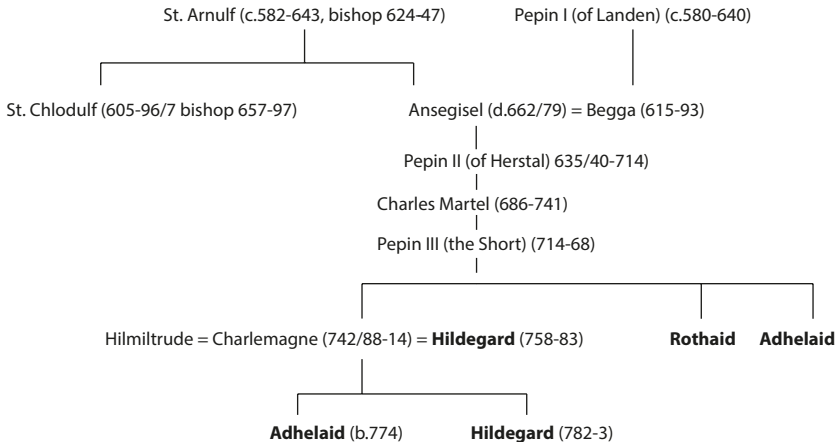
With these remarks, Paul has moved the symbolic moment of the transferral of rulership from the Merovingians to the Carolingians away from Pepin III's assumption of kingship in 751 to this moment, the blessing of Ansegisel, the father of Pepin II (*c.* 635/640-714).[216] From this point, Paul sets out a dynastic genealogy and history. This can be reproduced in diagram form, as shown below:

214 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 72-73.

215 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 74-75 and *MGH AA*, p. 265. See also Kempf, *Paul the Deacon's Libe*r, p. 291. A 'personal and historical association is … achieved via Arnulf between the Frankish king and the city of Metz'.

216 Thus, in this fashion, bypassing the need to deal with the 'burdensome' Merovingians and Pepin (III)'s assumption of kingship in 751. See Kempf, *Paul the Deacon's Liber*, p. 287.

Diagram iii Arnulf's Genealogy (annotated) according to the *Gesta* of Paul the Deacon (those in bold type were the subjects of epitaphs)[217]



It is, of course, as a genealogical table neither complete nor detailed, but at the same time selective rather than wrong.[218] It does, at the same time, serve to connect the current bishop of Metz i.e. Angilramn with his illustrious predecessor Arnulf, who here acts as the link to the Carolingians directly. Further, Paul's depiction of the deeds of Charlemagne reminds his readers of the links between Metz and Rome. 'Moreover', Paul says, 'he (i.e. Charlemagne) added to his dominions the Romans and the Romulean city itself which had been formerly the mistress of the whole world. Even before it had longed for his presence and groaned at being hard pressed by the Lombards' [*Romanos preaturea ipsamque urbem Romuleam iampridem eius prasentiam desiderantemquae aliquando mundi totius domina fuerat, et tunc a Langobardis depressa gemebatam, duris angustiis eximens*].[219] These comments serve to emphasise the ongoing continuance of the links between the apostolic city and Metz, in this instance through the physical protection of Charlemagne. To further develop Metz's association with

217 *MGH AA*, p. 265 and Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 72-79.

218 Paul also discussed Charlemagne's children i.e. Pepin (*c.* 767-811) the son of Himiltrude (*c.*742-*c.*780?) and the sons of Hildegard i.e. Charles (the Younger) (*c.*772-811), Pepin/Carloman (773-810), and Louis (the Pious) (778-840) (together with his twin brother Lothar (778-9/80), who died young). See Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 76-77 and *MGH AA*, p. 265. This also provides a valuable indication of the date of the work's composition i.e. after 783. On the date, see Neff, *Gedichte*, p. 110.

219 See Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 74-77 for a different translation.

the family of Charlemagne, Paul adds into the text five epitaphs of female Carolingian family members, all of whom were buried in that city, most notable amongst them Hildegard (758-783), Charlemagne's queen, who 'rests at the city of Metz in the oratory of blessed Arnulf' [*apud urbem Mettensem in beati Arnulfi oratorio requiescit*].[220] Although the epitaphs only survive in one manuscript i.e. lat.5294, it is evident that they were all integral to the original text, since Paul remarks after the fifth and final notice,'let us return to the track of our narrative' [*ad narrationis tramitem revertamur*], a phrase he uses again in his composition of the *HL*.[221] Indeed if one considers the contents of the epitaphs, there is significance beyond the identities of the two daughters of Pepin III; in other words, sisters of Charlemagne i.e. Rothaid and Adhelaid and two very young daughters of Charlemagne and Hildegard i.e. another Adhelaid and a younger Hildegard. For Rothaid, for instance, more is made of her *'genus excelso'* [exalted family] than Rothaid herself.[222] The epitaph is selective in its references to the principal activities of her relatives. For Rothaid's brother, Charlemagne, for instance, we read that 'my brother is Charles who supported by the power of Jupiter in battle conquered the Ausonian tribes' [*Nam mihis germanus gentes qui subdidit armis Ausonias, Karolus fretus virtute Tonantis*].[223] Each life thereafter steps back one generation until the piece concludes with 'the holy father and blessed bishop Arnulf … famous everywhere for his miraculous deeds' [*pater iste sacer presulque beatus Arnulfus, miris gestis qui fulget ubique*].[224]

Likewise, with Adhelaid the daughter of Charlemagne, who was born near the walls of Pavia, we are told 'but hurrying to the Rhone … was taken from the threshold of life' [*sed Rhodanum properans rapta est de limine vite*].[225] It is, however, the actions of her father that command and concentrate attention: 'Charles was her father, powerful with his double diadem. A man of noble character, powerful at war' [*huic sator est Karolus, gemino diademate pollens, Nobilis ingenio, fortis ad arma satis*],[226] who at the time of her birth and death was seizing the 'Italian kingdoms' [*Itala regna*].[227] All of these associations in the text and the epitaphs, those between Rome and Metz, between Francia/Gaul and Italy (*Ausonia*), between Arnulf and

220 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 76-77.
221 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 84-85.
222 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 78-79.
223 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 78-79. For further details see Neff, *Gedichte*, pp. 109-111.
224 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 78-79.
225 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 82-83 and Neff, *Gedichte*, pp. 117-118.
226 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 82-83 and Neff, *Gedichte*, pp. 117-118.
227 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 82-83 and Neff, *Gedichte*, pp. 117-118.

Charlemagne, between sanctity and the apostolic city, and Metz as the apostolic inheritor and transmitter of tradition are brought to fruition in the final moment of the *Gesta* which sets out the context for reform and renewal of both the Frankish Church and Kingship, the topic of our next discussion.

The final part of the *Gesta*, the point of confluence for the whole work, serves once again to emphasise the importance of Metz as the vanguard of reform in the Frankish Church;[228] and, concomitantly, the role of Chrodegang as bishop and promoter of reform. The structure of the *Gesta* sees this section act as a 'chiastic' mirror to the events of Auctor's time, which pivots around the previous material on Arnulf and the Carolingians.[229] Paul's Chrodegang is depicted as close to Charles Martel (r. 718-41). As 'a distinguished man worthy of all praises' [*vir egregius et omnibus preconiis efferendus*],[230] Chrodegang was chosen as bishop and was the referendary earning the 'pontifical honour/dignity' [*pontificale decus*] in the time of Pepin III i.e. between 741 and 768.[231] More than this, however, Chrodegang was:

> remarkable in all things, shining with nobility, handsome, most eloquent in speech, fluent in Latin as much as in his native tongue, he was a nourisher of the servants of God, not only the sustainer but also the most loving protector of widows and orphans.
> (*fuit autem*) *omnino clarissimus omnique nobilitate coruscans forma decorus, eloquio fecundissimus, tam patrio quamque etiam Latino sermone imbutus, servorum Dei Nutritor, orphanorum viduarumque non solum alter sedet clementissimus tutor.*[232]

Chrodegang's contact with Rome, via his journey there and his introduction of Roman chant (*cantilena*), are emphasised furthermore as part of his activities to inspire reform and renewal of not only his local church of Metz,

228 See Kempf, *Paul the Deacon's Liber*, p. 295.

229 See Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organisation,* p. 230. 'Auctor's episcopate 'mirrors' that of Chrodegang, on the other side of Arnulf's at the crux. The destruction of Metz in Auctor's time is mirrored by its renovation there in Chrodegang's. Servatius(Arvatius)' journey from Rome to Metz matches Chrodegang's from Metz to Rome and the miracle of Auctor's restoration of the broken altar mirrors Chrodegang's works of re-building'.

230 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 86-87.

231 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 86-87.

232 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 86-87.

but more broadly the Frankish church in general.[233] It is no surprise then that Chrodegang was chosen to bring 'the venerable Pope Stephen to Gaul' [*Stephanumque venerabilem papam … ad Gallias*].[234] And, finally, it was Chrodegang who acquired the bodies of three holy martyrs from Rome itself i.e. Gorgonius, Nazarius, and Nabor, whose remains were provided by Pope Paul I (757-767).[235] On a local level, within the bishopric itself, Chrodegang's activities further align the church of Metz with Rome. Thus it was that 'he ordered his clergy abundantly imbued with divine law and the Roman liturgy, to observe the customs and rites of the Roman Church which up to that time had hardly been done in the Church of Metz' [*ipsumque clerum abundanter lege divina Romanaque imbutum cantilena, morem atque ordinem Romana Ecclesie servire precepit, quod usque ad id tempus in Mettensi Ecclesia factum minime fuit*].[236] In passages highly reminiscent of the style of the *Liber Pontificalis*, Paul proceeds to discuss the physical embellishments orchestrated by Chrodegang. It is noted, for instance, that 'with the help of King Pepin' (III) [*cum adiutorio Pippini regis*]*:*

> Chrodegang ordered a baldachin to be made for the proto-martyr St. Stephen as well as an altar for him, a chancel, a choir and an apse. Likewise, he ordered a choir to be made in the church of St. Peter Major. He then built an ambo decorated with gold and silver, and an apse around the episcopal throne before the altar.
> *Hic fabricare iussit … rebam sancti Stephani protomartyris et altare ipsius atque cancellos, presbyterium arcusque per gyrum. Similiter et in ecclesia beati Petri Maiori presbiterium fieri iussit. Construxit eiam ambonem auro argentoque decoratum et arcus per gyrum troni ante ipsum altare.*[237]

233 Kempf, Liber, pp. 86-87 and *MGH AA*, p. 268. See Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, p. 175 and Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organisation,* p. 276. Bertram suggests that Chrodegang's Roman visit 'inspired him with the desire to introduce Roman liturgy and chant and he founded at Metz a school of Church Music'. See Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, p. 13. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 271-272, who suggests that '*cantilena*' is more than simply a change in the way of singing, but instead signifies that Chrodegang 'introduced the whole Roman style of performing liturgy'. See also, Susan Rankin, 'Carolingian Music' in McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture*, pp. 274-316 at p. 276 re: cantilena and Chrodegang's Roman credentials. In the same volume, Giles Brown, '*The Carolingian Renaissance'* has useful comments on Chodegang and Pepin III, pp. 15-16.

234 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 86-89.

235 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 88-89 and *MGH AA*, p. 268.

236 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 86-89.

237 Kempf, *Liber*, pp. 86-89.

Then in the parish of blessed Stephen, Chrodegang built a monastery 'in honour of the most blessed apostle Peter' [*in honore beatissimum apostoli*], bringing the clergy together to live within the confines of a cloister in the image of a monastery, and designed a rule.[238] Through all these activities on the ground – the emplacement of Roman martyrs Gorgonius, Nabor, and Nazarius in the local monasteries of Gorze, Hilariacum, and Lorsch respectively – one can clearly identify that Metz was being transformed into a *'hagiopolis'* through and by its connections to Rome and the Roman church.[239]

The cumulative effect of Paul's notices on Chrodegang is to present more than the bishop who immediately precedes his patron. Chrodegang's life and career becomes the culmination of the narrative, so that Paul can, once again, emphasise the Roman orientation of Metz. As Goffart remarks, 'as a climax to the book the Romanisation of the church of Metz with Bishop Chrodegang and the inception of Metz's own regular *Liber Pontificalis* raises the curtain on a new age of recovered order and regularity'.[240] This 'Romanisation' is the key to an understanding of the whole work and how it has been composed to operate structurally.

It would then be wrong to approach the *Gesta* as a straightforward recitation of the deeds of the bishops of Metz. If read on this basis, as we have seen, it is rather vague and flimsy with a slight evidential and source foundation. If the work, however, is considered on a structural level where each of the four principal sections strengthen and reflect upon each other, then the conclusion with Chrodegang serves to remind the readers of the significance of Metz, its apostolic and Roman connections, and its renewal at the forefront of the Carolingian programme of *correctio*. Paul's sponsor, Angilramn, is an important feature in the creation of the work. It is not excessive to say that it was Angilramn who prompted Paul to set into context with the *Gesta* his own abilities and scholarly outputs in furtherance of the Carolingian programme of reform and the centrality of Metz in that

238 Kempf, *Liber*, p. 86-87.

239 Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 248-249 and pp. 258-261 for the significance of the relic translation; Halsall points out that there is more than religious significance in Chrodegang's re-foundation of Sigibald's cell of St. Paul with the donation of Nabor's relics. See Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organisation,* p. 17. For Nabor and Nazarius see Kempf, *Paul the Deacon's Liber*, p. 296. The Roman orientation of Chrodegang's reforms was also noted by E. Ewig, 'Saint Chrodegang et la Réforme de l'Église Franque' in J. Schneider (ed.), *Saint Chrodegang: Communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa Mort* (Metz, 1967), p. 53.

240 Goffart, *Paul the Deacon's Gesta*, p. 92.

process. Paul's intellectual abilities assisted in delivering firm biblical, canonical, penitential, and liturgical foundations that bridged the deepening of *emendatio* and *correctio* before Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis* of 789 and the earlier period of Chrodegang and Charlemagne's father Pepin III. Naturally, Angilramn's patronage of Paul is an important aspect of Paul's time in Francia, but it should be placed within the context of his time in Francia generally – which was, for Paul, one of the most productive periods of his life as a writer, thinker, and intellectual who stood at the heart of the Carolingian court and its programme of revival. The *Gesta* was a product of this important period in Paul's life and should be evaluated not as a rather poor northern relation of the Roman *Liber Pontificalis,* but as a somewhat careful structural piece that promotes Metz, Rome, and the Carolingians. Paul's narrative strategy in melding oral traditions and written materials together was to be an important feature of not only this work, but also an important element of his next work, the *Historia Langobardorum*, which we shall consider in some detail across the following chapters.

3 The *Historia Langobardorum:* The Structure of Paul's World

The *Historia Langobardorum* is the final work of Paul the Deacon. Unlike his shorter prose works, the *HR,* the *VSGM,* and the *GEM* considered above, the work as it has come down to us would appear to have had no explicit patron and thus it remains without a dedicatory preface or conclusion. This has inspired considerable debate which has sought to 'prove' an agenda for the work and thus a patron. In this fashion, to highlight just two approaches, it has been presented at the same time as a work written for Lombard consumption and as one designed for a Frankish audience.[1] This debate has run its course. It has not provided, and indeed cannot provide, a definitive answer. Without a proven and explicit patron, the work stands to exemplify *per se* both Paul's own perceptions and his interests better than his previous works more firmly anchored to a patron/client relationship. Thus, it would seem that Paul writes without apparent constraints and on matters that he wants to explore and discuss. This chapter will seek, with this in mind, to demonstrate how the *Historia Langobardorum* reveals not only the originality of Paul as a writer, but also his responses to the structure of his own world. In order to provide an effective contextual platform, the chapter will briefly re-visit the known links between Paul and his work. Thereafter, a discussion of both the transmission and textual history will inform a better appreciation of the security of the text used by scholars today. Subsequently, a presentation of the structural parameters will provide the broad features of the work before we conclude with a discussion of Paul's use of sources and a detailed analysis of each of the six books.

In many respects the *HL* marks the pinnacle of Paul's writing career, since the *Historia Langobardorum* was composed during the final decade of his life.[2] He was, as we shall see, free to develop and discuss subjects that interested him both as an author and as an individual. His field of experience allowed him to develop a measure of empathy towards those

1 Thus Goffart suggests the work was written for Grimoald III of Benevento. *Narrators*, pp. 332-333; McKitterick pinpoints the circle of Pippin (Carloman) of Italy,McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, p. 337; and also McKitterick, *The Carolingian Renaissance* in Story (ed.), *Charlemagne*, pp. 151-166 (p. 163 in particular).

2 Capitani's view that it was written 'between 787 and 799' represents the safest view. See Capitani, *Paolo Diacono e la storiografia altomedievale* in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale*, pp. 25-45 (p. 25 in particular). That said, it is of course correct to say that there can no be 'no certainty about the date of composition'. McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, p. 334.

outside his own 'people', the Lombards. Paul's connections to his own home province of Friuli and to the Lombard and Carolingian courts broadened and deepened his field of experience. This is, as we shall see, reflected in his work. At the same time there are a number of noticeable gaps in his narratives.[3] This was recognised by Thomas Hodgkin in his 19th-century work, *Italy and her Invaders;* Hodgkin remarked:

> The evident honesty of the national historian of the Lombards, Paulus Diaconus and his willingness to share with us the picturesque sagas of his people endear him to our hearts; but we are forced to see that he leaves many gaps in his history.[4]

Wickham, whilst agreeing with Hodgkin that there are gaps in the work, suggested that these are the result of a deliberate editorial policy. For him 'embarrassing phenomena' such as 'Lombard Arianism or the papal opposition to his hero Liutprand' were either 'obscured or painted out'.[5] The question that immediately arises therefore is whether the gaps in this work are simply a result of the patchiness of his sources, or whether they serve a purpose in Paul's view of the world or the one he intends to transmit to us? Or are these gaps present because the work lacks a coherent organisational *leitmotiv*?[6] It is at the interstitial points of tension between the gaps, his sources and the structure of the work, that one can extract the responses and reactions of Paul to his world. It is this tension that we shall consider throughout the chapter in order to identify Paul's responses to his own world.[7] Accordingly, analysis will identify what Paul actually says, how he chooses to say it, and how he structures his own work rather than projecting, *ab initio*, a prevalent response or reaction to certain events or individuals. Paul's ability to utilise a wide store of narrative strategies in moulding and composing his work, and in dealing with the difficulties and gaps in his sources, nourished an extensive popularity in Italy and beyond, evidenced by a widespread manuscript transmission which will be considered next.

3 Dobiaš-Rožděstvenskaïa, *'L'Histoire des Longobards'*, p. 79. Paul's service to his own people and to their conqueror is often seen as problematic. See Leonardi, *La Figura di Paolo Diacono* in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale*, pp. 13-25 (p. 24).

4 Hogdkin, *Italy and her Invaders 553-600*, p.v.

5 Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 29.

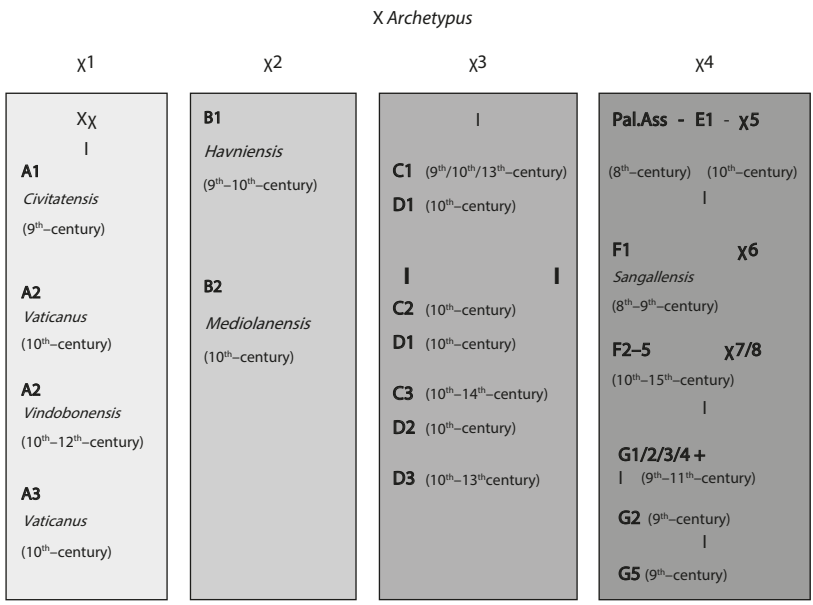
6 *Narrators*, p. 332.

7 Thus Paul can be at times pro-Lombard or anti-Frank, but this need not affect his readings or approaches on all occasions. Leonardi identifies the *Historia Langobardorum* as a work that does not have '*una espressione nazionalista'*, but one that promotes a form of '*metanazionale*' consciousness. See Leonardi, *La Figura in Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale*, pp. 23-24.

The Transmission and Textual Histories of the *Historia Langobardorum*

Issues of where and when Paul composed the *Historia Langobardorum* have informed debates about the purposes and audiences of the work and have in turn themselves been informed by the evidence that survives of textual transformation. With a work as popular in manuscript terms as the *HL*, the un-ravelling of the manuscript tradition was a 'gargantuan task'.[8] The archive tours of first Ludwig Bethmann (1812-1867) and subsequently Georg Waitz (1813-1886) for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* edition identified 107 extant manuscripts.[9] Just over a century later Laura Pani has identified 115 examples for her modern census of *HL* manuscripts.[10] Waitz and Bethmann divided the extant manuscripts into twelve groups (A-L) and presented a theoretical *stemma codicum,* which traced the development of the texts from an 'archetype' and four copies of that archetype as shown below:

Diagram iv ***Stemma Codicum*** **of the** ***Historia Langobardorum*** **(simplified) (after Waitz)[11]**



8 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, p. 334.

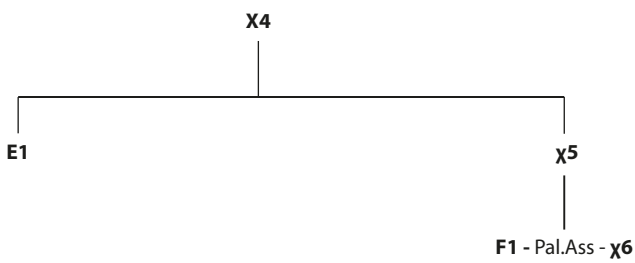
9 *MGH SrL*, p. 28-42.

10 Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, pp. 367-412, cross-referenced to Waitz's schema.

11 *MGH SrL*, p. 43. For the updated list see Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, pp. 404-412.

As can be seen above, four lines of transmission were theorised from the original archetype; first, from the group of manuscripts 'A', an early ninth-century exemplar exists;[12] secondly, the manuscript described as 'B1 *Havniensis*' written in a ninth- or tenth-century hand, used by both Friedrich Lindenbrog (1573-1648) and Ludovico Muratori (1672-1750) for their early printed editions;[13] thirdly, C1 copied in the ninth- or tenth-century;[14] and, finally, E1 the *Florentinus Laurentianus,* the contents of which associated both Paul's *Historiae Romana* and *Langobardorum* with (amongst other works) material from Prosper, Orosius, and Jordanes.[15] In Bethmann's *stemma* this manuscript was linked with an older Assisi palimpsest that contains fragments of Books II, V, and VI. Rafaello Morghen (1896-1983), however, whilst identifying the fragments as a very early exemplar of parts of the work, suggested that the palimpsest was derived from χ 4 together with both E1 and χ5, thus modifying the line of transmission as follows:

Diagram v Modified *Stemma Codicum pace* Morghen[16]



The palimpsest may even betray in its orthography a 'southern Italian provenance'.[17] If this is the case, it would represent a direct link to the now lost manuscript transmission of the work in the south where, due presumably to the location of Monte Cassino, the transmission of the work

12 *MGH Srl*, p. 28. Listed as item 41 in Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, p. 407.

13 *MGH SrL*, p. 31, written in a '*s.ix vel s.x manibus*'. Listed as item 51 in Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, p. 408. See Zanella, *Paolo Diacono*, p. 105.

14 *MGH SrL*, pp. 31-32. Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, p. 405; it is listed as item 10.

15 *MGH SrL*, p. 34. Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, p. 405; it is listed as item 43.

16 Morghen, *Il palinsesto Assisiense*, pp. 7-23 and plates I-XXVI, p. 22. See also *MGH SrL*, p. 34. Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, p. 407; listed as number 43. For palimpsests and uncial script see, B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 11-12.

17 Morghen, '*Il palinsesto Assisiense*', p. 20, '*Questo potrebbe essere un inizio provenienza del codice dal mezzogiorno d'Italia*'.

commenced. Subsequent knowledge and early reference to the work by both Erchempert of Benevento (d. *c.* 891) and Andrew of Bergamo (fl. late 9th-century) would also confirm the legacy of Paul's narrative in both the south and north of the peninsula.

As noted above, Waitz and Bethmann identified over 100 manuscripts. Their edited text, still the standard scholarly edition, remains, however, a series of judgements. 'In reality', Bethmann admitted his edition had only used 'a very small number of manuscripts'.[18] Whilst he may have recognised that it was both improbable and impossible to hypothesise all the connections between an autographed copy of the *Historia Langobardorum* and subsequent texts, Waitz and Bethmann in common with other *Monumenta* editors and researchers, sought to find an archetype, a sort of *'Ur-text',* which could be relied upon as an authoritative example of the original work, essentially free from the attentions of copyists and transcribers.[19] The oldest manuscripts, for instance, the Palimpsest of Assisi and St. Gallen cod.736, according to Waitz, in their 'conspicuous orthography and grammatical incorrectness' betray an interesting influence of the spoken word.[20] This suggests that Paul's work was enjoyed by a wider audience than a 'circle of classically-aware individuals' or those linked to powerful interest groups at either Carolingian or Lombard courts.[21]

Bethmann and Waitz's attempt to purge deviations and variant readings in the search for an original (so-called *ur*-) text did not escape some criticism. A partial critical edition was subsequently prepared by Amedeo Crivellucci (1850-1914) for the *Istituto Storico Italiano*. However, unfortunately, at his death he had completed only the first three books.[22] As Engels remarked in 1960 in summing up the state of scholarship on Paul's text, 'the edition of Waitz is certainly not ideal but it is the one that commands respect'.[23] This remains the situation with the Waitz text forming the basis for Capo's recent 1992 edition, which combines the text with an extensive

18 As quoted in Chiesa, *Caratteristiche*, p. 45,*'In realtà finora queste edizioni hanno utilizzato soltanto pochissimi manoscritti'* cited from Bethmann, *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschicthskunde* 7 (1839), pp. 274-275.

19 Pohl, *History in Fragments,* p. 348. See also Chiesa, *Caratteristiche*, p. 49.

20 Manuscript numbers 1 and F1 in Waitz's schema. See *MGH SrL*, pp. 28 and 35 and Tabula III. See also Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, pp. 385-404 (3 and 98 in Pani's list) (in particular pp. 388-393 re: St. Gallen). Waitz, *Über die handschriftliche überlieferung*, pp. 533-566 (p. 559 in particular),*'auffallende Orthographie und grammatische Uncorrectheit'*.

21 Pohl, *Paulus Diaconus*, pp. 389-90:*'Zirkel von klassikbehrußten intellektuellen'*.

22 Crivellucci, *Pauli Diaconi Historia Langobardorum, libri I-III*. See also Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, p. 367 and Chiesa, *Caratteristiche*, p. 46.

23 Engels, *Observations*, pp. 5-6.

and authoritative commentary.[24] The text used today then combines a number of compromises. It represents the vagaries of textual survival, the corrections and amendments of subsequent copyists, and the judgements of scholarly editors. Even with all these uncertainties, however, the edition of Waitz has to suffice for our analytical purposes. Usually with the varieties and vagaries of both manuscript survival and geographical provenance one might expect there to be a wide difference across the surviving manuscripts in terms of the structural framework. The reality, however, is that despite the lack of an original autograph copy and a 'gap' in the line of transmission between the 'archetype' and all subsequent copies, the variance is not as great as one might expect. We can be sufficiently confident that the work as we possess it today is relatively close to that produced in the eighth century.

Whilst the extensive manuscript tradition itself cannot prove the original audiences for the work, it does serve to demonstrate its popularity. Rather than embodying an end to the creation of Italian history, Paul was thereafter a significant influence throughout Italy. Both Andrew of Bergamo and Erchempert of Benevento at the start of their works make explicit reference to both Paul and his most influential work.[25] It continued to be used and referenced throughout the medieval period. It was, for instance, the basis for the entertaining story of Agilulf and Theodolinda in Giovanni Boccaccio's (1313-1375) *Decameron*.[26] Printed versions were published relatively early.[27] The *editio princeps* published in Paris by Joducus Badius (1462-1535) in 1513 was soon followed by one produced in Augsburg by Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547) only one year later.[28] These two editions relied upon different manuscript sources. So, too, did the edition prepared by Friedrich Lindenbrog (1573-1648) in his *Diversarum gentium historiae antiquae scriptores,* which printed Paul's *HL* with works of both Jordanes (i.e. the *Getica*) and Isidore of Seville.[29] In the following century, Ludovico Muratori (1672-1750), archivist and ducal historian at Modena, included *De Gestis Langobardorum*

24 Capo, *Paolo Diacono*, pp. 369-612.

25 *MGH SrL*, p. 221 for Andrew, p. 234 for Erchempert.

26 Zanella, *Paolo Diacono*, p. 108; Pohl, *Paulus Diaconus*, pp. 394 and 401. McWilliam (ed. and trans.), Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, pp. 199-205 and note 2, pp.820-821, second story of the third day.

27 But it is interesting to note that the *Editio Princeps* of the *Historia Romana* was published 42 years before that of the *Historia Langobardorum*.

28 *MGH SrL*, p. 44; Zanella, *Paolo Diacono*, p. 111. The Paris edition of 1513 used E2 and Konrad Peutinger's used manuscripts A3 and I1, associating the work with Jordanes. Interestingly, a third edition was published in Basel in 1532 by the Bohemian scholar Sigismund Gelenius (1497-1554) as part of his edition of Eutropius.

29 Lindenbrog, *Diversarum gentium historiae*.

in the second volume of 32 of his monumental *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (1723-1738).[30]

The popularity of the work continued from the first manuscript copies up to modern editions. More than a work merely composed for a particular didactic or moral purpose, its later development shows that different audiences registered variant 'reception possibilities'. With this in mind, it is important to remember that the accident of manuscript survival and geographical provenance are not objectively empirical proof for the work's patron or purpose but, rather, an incomplete window on the work's reception. It is better then, to investigate and analyse the structure of the work since this will reveal more both of Paul's intentions as an author and his responses to his world and the past.

Uncertainties with these issues have prompted examination of the textual transmission and reception of the work as a mechanism to cut across subjective assessments of the work's purposes and audiences. Notable in this regard was McKitterick's EME article of 1999, which postulated from the early northern Italian provenance of manuscripts a connection to the Franco-Italian court of Pepin, (Frankish) King of Italy (781-810).[31] The fundamentals of the argument depend upon the survival of manuscripts and where they were first copied and disseminated. The hypothesis excludes all that have been subsequently lost and does not account for the clear knowledge of Paul's text in the centre and south of Italy. It remains debatable, in any case, whether McKitterick could prove from the extant manuscript survival pattern that this equates to, first, the intended audience on the part of Paul; and, secondly, whether this would provide a window on the author's patrons and their intentions. Additionally, the creation of the work does not dovetail with what we know about Carolingian Italy since the work was composed at some distance in both space and time from Pepin's court. If the gradual replacement of the Lombard elite with a Frankish one was accomplished with the increasing diminution of Lombard tradition as a political ideology as Delogu suggests, it is unlikely that the Frankish elite would have felt the need for a work that described the deeds and exploits of the Lombards.[32] At the very least, however, it is clear that Paul's work

30 For Muratori see Bertelli, *Erudizione e storie* and L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. Muratori used manuscripts B2 and F2. See *MGH SrL*, pp. 31 and 36.

31 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, pp. 334- 338. See also Chiesa, *Caratteristiche*, pp. 58-59 for discussion of a southern Italian perspective.

32 P. Delogu, *Lombard and Carolingian Italy* in McKitterick (ed.), *NCMH Vol.II*, pp. 290-319 (pp. 303-336 in particular). See also Barbero, *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent*, pp. 33-38; Berto, *Testi storici e poetici*, pp. xii-xiii; and West, *Studies in Representations*, pp. 29-36 and pp. 158-165.

had an important impact in both northern and southern Italy and beyond and maintained a long and enduring popularity.[33] This popularity and importance is embodied by the complex and extensive manuscript survival and tradition. Naturally the extensive manuscript transmission could affect the security of the text, how it is organised, and indeed the authenticity of the work as we currently possess it today. These will be considered in the section which follows.

The Structure of the *Historia Langobardorum*

It will be productive at this stage, first, to discuss briefly the security of the structure in terms of both book and chapter divisions; and, secondly, to set out the key structural parameters of the work. In describing the contours of the structure, a foundation will be provided for further consideration of the six books in detail which follows in Chapter 5. If a description of the work is to have validity, the question that arises in the first place is, was this the original structural intention of Paul as the author?

From the outset there are early references that the work was originally composed of six books. Although incomplete, as we now have it, the early Sankt-Gallen 635 manuscript refers to six books. It provides the start of the sixth book with the *incipit 'In Christi nomine Historie Langobardorum incipit Liber sextus'* (In the name of Christ, the beginning of the sixth book of the History of the Lombards).[34] Only thirty or forty years later, Andrew of Bergamo, in his *Historia* or *Adbrevatio de gestis Langobardorum* mentions that Paul had composed six books (*sex … libros*).[35] A later continuation, the *Pauli Continuatio Tertia,* commences as an additional seventh book to Paul's work and was entitled *Septem Libri Langobardorum Regum*.[36] Subsequently, there has been general agreement that the work's division was Paul's intention. As Waitz and Bethmann made clear, there was no doubt that 'the work was divided into six books by the author himself'.[37] Less

33 For Pohl the large number of manuscripts demonstrates both the 'success' and the 'bandwidth of reception possibilities' (*die Bandbreite der Rezeptionsmöglichkeiten*) in Pohl, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 388.

34 Pani, Aspetti in *Chiesa*, pp. 392 and 399. See also *MGH SrL*, pp. 34-35. *Tabula* III adjacent to p. 34 provides an example of two hands within the Sankt-Gallen manuscript.

35 *MGH SrL*, p. 221:'*Langobardorum gesta, unum volumen, sex tamen libros a Paulo viro philosopho contesta* (*i.e. contexta*) *et per ordinem narrata iuvenimus*.' See Berto, *Testi storici*, p. 23.

36 *MGH SrL*, p. 204. This continuation concludes with a chapter on Paul the Deacon; see p. 216.

37 *MGH SrL*, p. 27: '*Opus procul dubio ab ipso auctore in sex libros est digestum'.*

certain is why he should have divided his work in this fashion. Evidently he was well acquainted with works that were not only divided into books, but also chapters. The Bible was a notable example in this regard. Paul also used other influential works in the body of his text. Both Pliny and Virgil were referenced by him and so sub-divided.[38] Whilst we can be assured that there was a six-book division, modern commentators should exercise some caution with the sub-divisions into chapters when assuming that these were the original intention of Paul. That said, however, throughout the surviving manuscripts there would appear to be no uniform division of the material. With some, contents tables are absent entirely. In others, variant readings and spellings exist for the chapter headings. In some, divisions are signified by the use of ornamental initials, whereas others use numerals, but it is clear that in all cases divisions are clearly indicated by way of chapters or discrete passages.[39] A brief glance at a number of manuscript examples will demonstrate this division. Of these the reproduction of the early manuscript of Cividale del Friuli which shows chapter divisions of Book III is perhaps most significant in demonstrating the intention to not only create a work of six books, but also one that was composed with internal sub-divisions into chapters. Further examples such as the decorated start of Book I of the British Library Royal A.13 xxii show the division between the start of each book proper and the list of *capitula* of that book which immediately precedes the text. The manuscript in Copenhagen (Det Kongelige Bibliothek, Gl.kgl.s.2158) clearly reproduces the start of Books I and VI respectively and at the same time demonstrates the chapter sub-divisions. There were, as one might expect, differences between specific manuscripts and this internal variance, in turn, affected early printed versions. Konrad Peutinger's 1514 edition reproduces the work with chapterisation as follows:

38 Pliny: *MGH SrL*, p. 48 and *Foulke*, p. 3. Virgil: *MGH SrL*, p. 50 and *Foulke*, p. 9.

39 For ornamental or enlarged initials see *MGH SrL*, *Tabula* I, adjacent to p. 28 and Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, pp. 386-387. For both the use of initials and numerals see Pani, *Aspetti* in *Chiesa*, p. 379, the early Cividale manuscript.

Table xvii Konrad Peutinger's chapterisation of *Historia Langobardorum*

Book	Chapters	Variance from *MGH SrL*	Details
I	27	-	
II	32	-	
III	32	-2	Peutinger's c. 9 and 10 = 9 in *MGH* Peutinger's c. 18 divided into c. 17 and 18 in *MGH* Final *MGH* chapters c. 33- 35 – combined in Peutinger c. 32
IV	53	+ 2	Peutinger's c. 4 and 5 = 4 in *MGH* Peutinger's c. 10 and 11 = 9 in *MGH* Peutinger's c. 33 = 31 and 32 in *MGH* Peutinger's c. 38 and 39 = 37 in *MGH* Peutinger's c. 47 and 48 = 46 in *MGH* Peutinger's 53 = 50 and 51 in *MGH*
V	41	-	
VI	56	-2	Peutinger's edition concludes with c. 56, excluding c. 57 and 58

The variance is not great. Differences between this early edition and subsequent modern versions can be explained by the fact that Peutinger only used two manuscripts.[40] Additionally the variance in Book VI between Peutinger's edition and ours is a result of only three manuscripts possessing the final two chapters.[41]

Nevertheless, despite this, it remains remarkable that a work copied and disseminated as much as the *Historia Langobardorum* should exhibit relatively small and recognisable structural differences. Perhaps the best we can indicate is that the books are evidently subdivided into discrete passages generally according to subject material, and that there is sufficient evidence for this from the earliest versions. On this basis, in what follows, the analysis of the structural features of the work will depend upon the standard modern critical edition of Waitz and Bethmann. The *MGH* edition published three hundred years later than Peutinger's edition divided the work as shown in the following table:

40 *MGH SrL*, p. 30, 41, and 44. Peutinger's edition appeared as *Iornandes De Rebus Gothorum et Paulus Diaconus Foroiuliensis, De Gestis Langobardo* (Augsburg, 1515).

41 *Capo*, p. 563 and *MGH SrL*, pp. 27-28.

Table xviii Structure of the *Historia Langobardorum*

Book	Chapters	% of the whole work by chapters	Total of Lines	% of the whole work by lines	Average number of Lines per chapter	Word Count
I	27	11.06	631	19.15	23.37	5738
II	32	13.11	393	11.92	12.28	4294
III	35	14.34	512	15.53	14.62	5507
IV	51	20.9	591	17.93	11.58	6524
V	41	16.8	541	16.41	13.19	6022
VI	58	23.77	627	19.02	10.81	6577
Totals	244		3295			34,662

There is, as the table shows, variance between and across the work in terms of chapter and lines. In itself, this is no surprise. Comparable works also exhibit variation in their structure. If one uses chapter divisions to identify the percentage of the whole work by chapters the range is considerable, from just over a tenth of the whole work for Book I to nearly a quarter for Book VI. Using lines as a method of computation, however, is more diagnostic. In this way it is demonstrable that whilst the first book has only 27 chapters, and would appear to be one of the shorter books, in fact it has 631 lines and in this sense it is the longest. Variation across the work is compressed when one uses lines as an indicator, from 11.92% for Book II to 19.15% for Book I. The overall picture, whether for chapters, lines, or indeed total word count remains one of variation.[42]

This can only act as an indicative guide to the work's interests and priorities and would need to take account of the size of chapters. This information is provided below:

42 As we have seen in the variation in the structure of the *HR*.

Table xix Density of Chapter lengths in the *Historia Langobardorum*

Number of Lines ↓	Number of Chapters →	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V	Book VI	Totals
1-9		10	14	14	33	20	36	127
10-29		11	16	17	15	17	19	95
30-59		5	2	4	2	3	3	19
60-99		-	-	-	-	1**c**	-	1
100-199		-	-	-	1**b**	-	-	1
200 +		1**a**	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals		27	32	35	51	41	58	244

Notes on the three lengthiest chapters: **a** = I.26: Benedict of Nursia 212 lines; **b** = IV.37: the Avars, Friuli and Paul the Deacon's ancestors; **c** = V.2: Grimoald's pursuit of Perctarit

Chapter length (using lines as an indicator) is varied from a mere 2 in a number of chapters to the longest three comprising 212 (I.26), 112 (IV.37), and 65 (V.2) lines respectively.[43] These lengthiest chapters deal with Grimoald's relentless pursuit of Perctarit (V.2), the Avars, Friuli and Paul's ancestors (IV.37), and the poetic homage to Benedict (I.26). They are exceptional in terms of their length. The vast majority of the work (90% by chapter or 88% by lines) is composed of relatively short and discrete passages that are no more than 59 lines in length.

Variation is further shown by the chronological divisions of the work. There is uneven treatment and some overlap in terms of temporal start and end. This overlap is used by Paul as a device to connect and inter-link the narrative. The first chronological peg is a reference to the division of the Roman provinces of Upper and Lower Germany which occurred around 5 CE. However, since most of this first book deals with either legend or timeless geography, the first effective notice refers to Odovacar's war against the Rugi i.e. 487-488. Thus the division of the work by time can be tabulated as follows:

43 The shortest chapters of two lines are: III.14, III.33, V.14, V.24, V.26, VI.13, VI.33. VI.39, and VI.41.

Table xx The Chronological Parameters of the *Historia Langobardorum*[44]

Book	Start	End	Number of Years	Number of Chapters	Ratio of Chapters to Years
I	487-488 Odovacar attacks the Rugii	567 Gepid kingdom destroyed	80	27	3.37
II	552 Narses uses the Lombards	574 Assassination of Cleph, Lombard King	22	32	0.68
III	569-570 Lombard incursions into Gaul	590-591 Death of Authari, Lombard King	20	35	0.57
IV	591 Installation of Agilulf as Lombard king	662 Accession of Grimoald and Flight of Perctarit	71	51	1.39
V	662 Grimoald's triumph over Perctarit	689 Defeat of Alahis's rebellion	27	41	0.65
VI	687-688 Taranto and Brindisi captured	744 Death of Liutprand	57	58	0.98

Not only, then, is the work divided in terms of the space it gives to each of the books, but it is also variable in terms of chronology. The differences are, however, less dramatic than a simple chronological division would suggest. Excluding Book I as an exception in this case, the range chronologically runs from a mere 20 years in Book III to 71 in Book IV. Whether this is a direct function of Paul's sources will be discussed in detail in the following section that analyses the six books and their contents. On the other hand, total word counts for each of the books do present a considerable range, from a low of 4294 for Book II to the lengthiest final book which amounts to 6577 words. However, again, when one calculates the number of years discussed in relation to the chapters written, this ratio provides a small

44 Goffart suggests Book I: c.IVth-century – 567, Book II: 551-72, Book III: 572-590, Book IV: 590-662, Book V: 662-90 and Book VI: 688-744. He suggests that 'only a meaningless guess may be made about the opening date of the *HL*'; *Narrators*, p. 379. Bullough provides Book I: unstated – 567, Book II: 'back a few years' – 573, Book III: 584-90, Book IV: 590-660, Book V: 661-80 and Book VI: 670s – 742-4–Bullough, *Alternative Reading*, p.89.

variance of only 0.65 years to chapters in Book V to 3.37 years in Book I. These are the basic overall structures of the work. To get beyond these parameters and analyse both the narrative depth and density of the work we need to consider the importance of specific subjects to Paul and his structural arrangements of the text.

The structural grid of each book through chapters and the number of lines (in the *MGH* edition) sets out both the varied panorama of the text and also the thematic structure. Whilst it can be objected that this is a subjective presentation, it has the merit of at least providing a relative picture of the work's core subject matters. The table below divides the work into chapters and provides an indication of the number of lines within each chapter. Each subject area is colour-coded. There are a number of chapters that defy characterisation and these are noted within the notes appended to the table.

Table xxi Thematic and structural grid of the *HL*

	Number of Lines					
Chapter ↓	**Book I**	**Book II**	**Book III**	**Book IV**	**Book V**	**Book VI**
1	18 L	9 I L	19 L	5 L	5 L	6 L
2	7 L	11 R	17 L	5 I	65 L	16 L
3	6 L	9 R	5 L	9 L	34 L	8 L
4	12	26 R	7 L	7 F	10 L	21 C
5	21	24 R	9	6 C	11L F	14
6	39	6 L	19	5 L	15 R	24 L
7	10 L	7 L	13	3 (F)	22 R	3
8	11 L	8 L	23 L F	14 L	13 R	7 C
9	6 L	17 L	8 F	30L C	4R C	6
10	3 L	17 F	4 F	7	20 R	3 R
11	9 L	3 R	22 R	7 F	19 R	7 R
12	12 L	3L C	44 R	3 L	6 R	3 R
13	7 L	39 C	10 F	4L F	6 R	2 R
14	6 L	11 L	2 C	3 I	2 L	8 C
15	25 L	7 I	11 R F	4 F	4 I	30 B
16	7 L	10 I	10 L	20 L	5 L	13 F
17	16 L	8 I	8 R F	10 C	8 L	8 L
18	4 L	14 I	10L R	4 L	4 L	5 L
19	16 L I	10 I	31 R	14 C	10	4 L
20	51 L	13 I	5 C	5 L	5	7 L
21	17 L	6 I	11 F H	6L C	11 L	4 L
22	3 L	5 I	7 R F	10 L	6 L	11 L
23	13 L	15 I	11 I	4 L	16 L	3 F

	Number of Lines					
Chapter ↓	**Book I**	**Book II**	**Book III**	**Book IV**	**Book V**	**Book VI**
24	**40 L**	**9 I**	**19I C**	**5L**	**2 L**	**40 L**
25	**30 R**	**6 L**	**3B C**	**4 L**	**3 L**	**3 L**
26	**212 C**	**11 L**	**19 C**	**4 R**	**2 L**	**11 L**
27	**30 L**	**13 L**	**8 L**	**5 L**	**8 I**	**7 L**
28		**33 L**	**5 L F**	**14L R**	**4 I**	**5L C**
29		**14 L**	**11L F**	**22 C**	**10**	**5 C**
30		**14R L**	**49 L**	**4 L**	**8 R**	**3 L**
31		**5 L**	**35 F**	**3 F**	**5**	**10 R**
32		**10 L**	**7 L**	**5 L**	**4 L**	**7 R**
33			**2 L**	**6 C**	**25 L**	**2 C**
34			**28 F**	**5 I**	**12 L**	**14 R**
35			**20 L**	**3L R**	**2 L**	**27 L**
36				**15 R**	**17 L**	**11 R**
37				**112**	**13 L**	**8 F**
38				**15 R**	**26 L**	**16 L**
39				**9L**	**43 L**	**2 L**
40				**10 L**	**33 L**	**22 C**
41				**12 L**	**23 L**	**2 R**
42				**19 L**		**7 F**
43				**4 L**		**4 L**
44				**12 L**		**5 L**
45				**8 L**		**17 L**
46				**7 L**		**9F H**
47				**21 L**		**8 R**
48				**6 L**		**5 L**
49				**5 R**		**19L R**
50				**21R C**		**4 L**
51				**50 L**		**27L C**
52						**5 L**
53						**3 F**
54						**19 F**
55						**21 L**
56						**17 L**
57						**7 L**
58						**42 L**
Totals	**631**	**393**	**512**	**591**	**541**	**627**

Key: L = Lombards I = Italy F = Francia R = Roman/Byzantine Empire C = Church and Saints B = Britain H = Iberia and the Visigoths

Notes*: Unallocated chapters: Book I.4: The Seven Sleepers, 5 Scritobini and 6 Whirlpools. Book III.5: Eclipses and Pestilence, 6 and 7 Saxons. Book IV.10: -Comets and Deaths, 37 Avars, Grimoald and Paul's family. Book V.19 and 20 – Avars, 29 Bulgarians and 31 Comets and Pope Domnus. Book VI.5- Eclipses and Pestilence, 7 Felix the teacher of Flavian and 9 Stars and Eruptions*

This grid shows the prominence that Paul accords to his prime subject focus i.e. his own people. A rough calculation using both chapter totals and subject matter on the grid shows that 54% of the work is devoted to the Lombards alone. Within this overall pattern there is some significant variation. To highlight one example briefly, so far as Italy is concerned there is a distinct bias in Paul's treatment of Friuli, Benevento, and the Kingdom proper, but other areas, such as *Tuscia* and Spoleto, are rather less well served.

Paul's interest in the Byzantine/late Roman empire is also evident with notices present in all six books. What these figures fail to highlight, however, are some of his interests contained within chapters ostensibly on other matters. Thus Paul's notices on Anglo-Saxon England form the prime focus in only two chapters but are elsewhere mediated through other concerns, for example, the role of Gregory the Great in the mission of Augustine of Canterbury (d. *c.* 604) or Perctarit's attempt to travel to England. It is clear that his history interweaves the Lombards through and beside his other interests. It is only Book I that comes close to restricting or maintaining its entire narrative thread to the Lombards alone. Elsewhere the oscillation in the field of narrative is particularly noticeable, especially in Books III and VI. Broad subject focus can be distilled as the following table shows:

Table xxii Distribution of subject/geographical focus in the *Historia Langobardorum*

Area	Number of Chapters						
	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V	Book VI	Totals
Lombards	22	14	14	29	25	31	135
Italy	-	10	2	3	3	-	18
Byzantium	1	6	7	7	9	11	41
Gaul	-	1	12	5	1	7	26
Hispania	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Church	1	1	5	8	1	8	24
Britain	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Totals	24	32	42	52	39	59	248*

* Double counting of subject focus allows for higher chapter total than the work.

What can be concluded in terms of structure from the parameters so far discussed? There is an evident variability throughout the work. This works in terms of chronological treatment, subject focus, chapter length, and amount of lines per chapter. This would suggest that Paul's prime authorial

intent was his narrative subjects rather than the projection of a *leitmotiv* to the structure *per se*. On the whole Paul used the chapters as a mechanism to contain a subject, a theme, or period. The structural organisation thus acquires significance from the totality of the narrative. It is therefore the sum of its parts rather than a disconnected and disaggregated hodgepodge.

This is not to say that there is no structure at all. More speculative was the view of Goffart that Paul 'resort[s] to bipartite books' and has a 'fondness for symmetrical order'.[45] Goffart's projection of this structure will be critically discussed in detail with regard to each of the six books. Goffart was, however, correct to highlight Paul's propensity to 'bridge' the content between his books. This device or 'conspicuous feature', as Goffart describes it, allows Paul to drive his narrative forward and to provide his audiences with the idea of progression both in terms of time and his narrative themes.[46] In this fashion, Alboin bridges Books I and II, the *inter-regnum* spans Books II and III, Agilulf and Theodolinda link Books III and IV, with finally Grimoald and Cunincpert providing the final connections between Books IV-V and V-VI respectively.

Bridging between the books is not the only authorial mechanism that Paul deployed in the *HL*. We also see references to both the work itself and to Paul as the author. There are 27 instances in the *Historia Langobardorum* that refer to the work in this way.[47] Within these 27 there are, broadly speaking, three distinct groups. First, a group of straightforward references which refer back to individuals or subjects that Paul has dealt with previously e.g. (II.13) 'we have made mention of Felix' [*... quia huius Felix fecimus mentionem*].[48] The second group of references referring to Paul's intentions about subsequent sections are more significant. In the first of these, he indicates that nothing further will be said about Gregory the Great

45 *Narrators*, p. 379.

46 *Narrators*, p. 379.

47 These are: I.4 *Foulke*, p. 5 and *MGH SrL*, p. 49; I.6 *Foulke*, p. 11 and *MGH Srl*, p. 51; I.26 *Foulke*, p. 49 and *MGH Srl*, p. 68; II.13 *Foulke*, p. 68 and *MGH Srl*, p. 79; II.13 *Foulke*, p. 71 and *MGH Srl*, p. 81; II.15 *Foulke*, p. 71 and *MGH SrL*, p. 81; II.24 *Foulke*, p. 79 and *MGH Srl*, p. 86; III.10 *Foulke*, p. 104 and *MGH Srl*, p. 97; III.11 *Foulke*, p. 106 and *MGH Srl*, p. 97; III.19 *Foulke*, p. 119 and *MGH Srl*, p. 102; III.24 *Foulke*, p. 128 and *MGH Srl*, p. 105; III.34 *Foulke*, p. 148 and *MGH Srl*, p. 113; IV.36 *Foulke*, p. 177 and *MGH SrL*, p. 128; IV.37 (twice) *Foulke*, pp. 184 and 187 and *MGH Srl*, pp. 131-132; IV.38 *Foulke*, p. 187 and *MGH Srl*, p. 132; IV.40 *Foulke*, p. 189 and *MGH Srl*, p. 133; IV.43 *Foulke*, p. 198 and *MGH Srl*, p. 134; V.14 *Foulke*, p. 226 and *MGH Srl*, p. 150; V.16 *Foulke*, p. 227 and *MGH Srl*, p. 151; V.17 *Foulke*, p. 227 and *MGH Srl*, p. 151; V.22 *Foulke*, p. 230 and *MGH Srl*, p. 152; V.30 *Foulke*, p. 234 and *MGH Srl*, p. 154; VI.3 *Foulke*, p. 251 and *MGH Srl*, p. 165; VI.18 *Foulke*, p. 264 and *MGH SrL*, p. 171 and VI.26 *Foulke*, p. 271 and *MGH Srl*, p. 174.

48 *MGH SrL*, p. 79 and *Foulke*, p. 68.

(III.24) and in the second that a certain miracle of Peter of Pavia will be 'put in its proper place' [... *in loco proprio ponemus*].[49] In both cases, Paul does not make good his promise. In the first place, there are a number of subsequent and important notices with regard to Gregory, most notably in IV.29.[50] Secondly, there is no further mention of Peter or his miracle. This suggests that Paul did not revise or return to his text to edit out or amend his stated purposes but this, as we shall see, is not the same as saying that this work is not complete in its overall construction.

It is the third group of references that provide an interesting window on Paul's compositional approach. In these references, he referred to the work as a whole. The three terms that he used emphasised continuity across the whole. First, he referred to the narrative or more specifically the 'chain' or the 'thread of the narrative' [*narrandi seriem*] or 'the order of the narrative' [*narrandi ordinem*].[51] Secondly, he referred to the work as a 'history' (*historia*)[52] and, more particularly, says that he will return to the 'general history' or 'histories' [*generali historia or generalis historiae*].[53] These remarks show his authorial intent to interrupt either the flow of his narrative or to return to what he perceives to be the main focus of the work. It is clear from just this small group of references that Paul's conception of the *HL*, *ab initio*, encompassed the idea of a general narrative that had a clear structural intent and objective.

To sum up thus far, exploration of the organisational structure provides an effective underpinning to subsequent discussions which will deal with both Paul's approach to individuals and themes. It has also provided a more (qualified) objective treatment to an empirical presentation of the work. Whilst it can be argued that the analysis of subject areas is, in itself, a subjective endeavour, it allows an interrogation of the work's contents. Thus, whilst there are multiple narrative threads, it is evident that Paul's main aim remained to produce a history of his own people, often mirrored through the actions and responses of other players in the Mediterranean basin and beyond. This is demonstrated by the variety in treatment across the work. It is also clear that Paul intended to structure his work into one of six books with appropriate sub-sections or discrete passages. He linked his six books both explicitly by his self-conscious cross-referencing and

49 *MGH SrL*, p. 186 and *Foulke*, p. 306.
50 *MGH SrL*, pp. 126-127 and *Foulke*, pp. 172-173.
51 *MGH SrL*, pp. 49 and 51 and *Foulke*, pp. 5 and 11.
52 *MGH SrL*, pp. 68, 81, 86, and 113 and *Foulke*, pp. 49, 71, 79, and 148.
53 *MGH SrL*, pp. 131-132 and *Foulke*, pp. 184 and 187.

implicitly by authorial devices that connected and linked across to different parts of the narrative. In this fashion he wove into his work ornamental details and digressions. The structure reveals that save for three remarkable and exceptional chapters, Paul preferred to restrain his narrative passages to less than 60 lines. In terms of subject-focus, the work oscillates between its subjects, but has a conceptual foundation which retains as its main basis the Lombards and their history. Now let us look at Paul's source use and how this affects the *HL*.

Paul's Use of Sources

With the destruction of the monastery of Monte Cassino in the autumn of 883 the physical environment in which Paul wrote his last work perished. Although the abbot had foreseen the Arab attack and sent both monks and manuscripts to Teano, a subsequent fire there destroyed the treasures.[54] William Foulke, following the earlier work of Rudolf Jacobi, suggested that 'it would seem that Paul had before him documents from Monte Cassino to a very limited extent', but unfortunately presents no reasons or evidence for this belief.[55] The vast majority of commentators to date, however, cite Paul and the creation of his last work at Monte Cassino. Paul's use of sources to construct the *Historia Langobardorum* is a crucial issue in attaining an understanding of the work's structure and was an important theme of nineteenth-century (principally German) scholarship.[56] Whilst it was not unusual for medieval writers to reuse and recycle material in their works without any attribution, we need to consider whether the *HL* is simply a pastiche combination of sources or something more original. The demise of the monastic library makes a reconstruction of its holdings in the late eighth century virtually impossible. In order to answer these questions one has to revert to the work itself. It is clear that Paul must have used more material, whose origins went beyond the confines of both his monastery and an entirely Italian perspective. Analysis of his source use must depend upon an interrogation of the work.

54 Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, pp. 60 and 177. See *MGH SrL*, pp. 251-252; Perry, *Erchempert's History of the Lombards of Benevento*, p. 196; and Citarella and Willard, *The Ninth Century Treasure of Monte Cassino*.pp.119-121.

55 *Foulke*, p. 367.

56 Theodor Mommsen, Rudolf Jacobi, Ludwig Schmidt, and Georg Waitz in particular, but also Otto Abel and Ludwig Bethmann.

The use and adaptation of the sources will be a recurrent theme in the subsequent chapter that deals with the six books in detail, but it will be useful, at this point, to present some general features of Paul's methods. In the first place, it is clear that he uses more sources than he directly cites. There are in total 31 direct citations of 20 different sources as works used, but this is clearly a small part of the total range of what Paul may have referenced. Table xxiii below provides a list of all possible citations. It includes directly borrowed material, noted references, or background commonplace material, often from Classical works, that Paul had access to but did not mention.

Table xxiii Paul's sources in the *Historia Langobardorum*

Source	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V	Book VI
Annals of Metz/Local Metz sources						*?
Autpert *Vita Paldonis*						*
Bede *Chronicon*	*	*	*	*		*
Bede *De Temporum Ratione*	*					
Bede *HEGA*					*	
Bible					*	*
Cædwalla's Epitaph						*
Chronicon Moissiacense						*
Donatus		*				
Droctulft's Epitaph			*			
Edictum Rothari	*			*		*
Eugippius *Vita S.Severini*	*					
Festus		*				
Fredegar and Continuations	*?	*?	*?	*?		
Gregory of Tours *DCL*	*	*	*	*		
Gregory of Tours *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*	*					
Gregory the Great *Dialogues*	*	*	*	*		
Gregory the Great *Letters*				*		
Isidore of Seville *Etymologies*	*	*		*		
Jonas of Bobbio *Vita Columbani*	*			*		
Jordanes	*	*				
Justin	*	*				
Justinian *Digests*	*					
Liber Pontificalis	*	*	*	*	*	*

Source	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V	Book VI
Marcus Cassinensis	*					
Marius of Avenches	*	*	*			
Menander Proctector	*					
Oral Sources/Local Traditions	*	*	*	*	*	*
Origo gentis Langobardorum	*	*		*	*	
Orosius *Historiae adversus Paganos*	*					
Palace of Monza				*		
Patriarchal Catalogue – Aquileia			*?			
Paul the Deacon's own experience	*	*		*	*	*
Pope Pelagius II's letter			*			
Pliny *Natural History*	*	*				
Pomponius Mela	*					
Procopius	*	*				
Ptolemy	*					
Geogr. Ravennatis	*	*				
Secundus of Non *Historiola*	*	*	*	*		
Strabo *Geographia*	*					
Tacitus	*?					
Venantius Fortunatus		*				
Sextus Aurelius Victor		*				
Virgil – Æneid	*			*		
Vita Arnulfi						*
Totals	30	20	11	15	6	12

The table shows the wide range of his possible sources. There is a noticeable presence of Classical Latin authors, particularly in the early books, combined with oral or traditional Lombard material. Frankish sources are also evident, reflecting Paul's stay in Gaul prior to the composition of the *Historia Langobardorum*. There is also a significant and imaginative use of witness beyond literature alone. He cites, for instance, both the epitaphs of Droctulft and Cædwalla.[57] In a striking passage, which hints at his own experience, he describes the now lost frescoes upon the walls of the vanished Palace of Monza.[58] Clearly, his general approach shows his ability and willingness to

57 *MGH SrL*, pp. 102-103 and 169-170 and *Foulke*, pp. 119-120 and 261-262.
58 *MGH SrL*, p. 124; *Foulke*, p. 166; and *Capo*, p. 502.

marshal all available material for the benefit of his narrative. Using Table xxiii, his use of materials can be categorised into seven broad categories:

a Religious/Patristic materials
b Classical (ethnography) works
c Law
d History
e Epigraphy and art
f Oral Sources and Tradition
g Poetry[59]

His use of materials from these categories is not uniform across the work. For religious, historical, and oral sources, there is clear evidence that he used material for all six books. The remaining categories are used less extensively, notably poetry, which is used within Book I but absent elsewhere. Similarly, Paul infrequently used epigraphy and art, but it is noticeable when he does use this sort of source due to its impact. Overall his use of materials is comprehensive and extends far beyond purely Lombard sources.[60] This is less surprising, as we shall see when we consider the detailed contours of each of the six books. The result is a work whose main subject matter, the Lombards, is locked into a context and narrative of the early medieval world of the Mediterranean basin, rather than treated in a straightforward narrative with only one theme. In the next section, his ability to employ his materials in a wide-ranging, often original, and sophisticated fashion will be demonstrated as we go through the work book by book.

59 See Zanella, *Storia dei Longobardi*, pp. 10-13. Luiselli in his introduction to this work has seven categories citing both Mommsen and Rinaudo i.e. a) Traditions; b) Travellers' Stories; c) Personal Observations; d) Epitaphs; e) Latin works; f) 'Romano-barbarian' works; g) Religious works.

60 Foulke (trans.), *Paul the Deacon: The History of the Langobards*, p. 318.

4 The *Historia Langobardorum:* The Six Books in Detail

This chapter has two principal aims. First, it analyses the structure of each of the books in detail; secondly, it discusses what Paul did put in his work and why. The analysis will focus on the context and construction of the narrative framework. Thus it will be important to pinpoint at each stage, so far as possible, his sources, which will allow an interrogation of his responses and narrative strategy in the composition of the work.

Book I 'The Men of Old Tell a Silly Story': Legends and Amazons

According to [Gaius/Publius] (Cornelius) Tacitus (56 CE-117 CE) (whom Paul did not use), the *Langobardi* were illustrious by lack of numbers.[1] 'They were', he wrote, 'set in the midst of numberless and powerful tribes' and were 'delivered not by submissiveness but by peril and pitched battle'.[2] This small and inauspicious picture is echoed by the brief notices of both (Marcus/Gaius) Velleius Paterculus (*c.*19 BCE-*c.*31 CE), and Cassius Dio, and later by the first book of the *Historia Langobardorum*.[3] The *Winnili,* who subsequently become the *Langobardi* of this first book, embark upon an uncertain and remarkable journey. This journey is an unlikely testament to the survival and success of a relatively small West Germanic tribe whose wanderings take them from the banks of the Elbe to the borders of Italy where, as Paul indicates in his very first chapter, they 'ruled prosperously' (*feliciter regnavit*).[4] Paul's strategy to negotiate the joint challenge of limited and laconic sources and a traditional origin story firmly tied to a pagan past involved an extensive range of source use, notably Classical materials to soften the pagan elements in the material. The first book is composed of 27 chapters. It is, as we have seen, the shortest in these terms of the six books. This belies its length in terms of both word count (it is the fourth longest)

1 Paul's equation of Woden/Odin with Mercury in I.9 is more likely to have been based on Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani chapter.*53 than Tacitus directly. See *Capo*, p. 381, Mommsen, *Die Quellen*, p. 66 and *MGH SrL*, p. 53.

2 Peterson (ed. and trans.), *Tacitus: Germania*, p. 319.

3 Shipley (ed. and trans.), *Velleius Paterculus: Res Gestae*, pp. 270-271 and Cary (ed. and trans.), *Cassius Dio*, 72.11.6 and 72.12.1-3.

4 *MGH SrL*, p. 48 and *Foulke*, p. 3.

and to its density of treatment. Even though it is not until Chapter 19 that the narrative begins to match a recognisable historical time, the density of treatment (i.e. years to chapters) is still 3.37 years per chapter. It remains the most concise in terms of chronology and with 21 of the chapters having 29 lines or less, it is also short in terms of chapter length.[5]

The focus of the work from the start remains fixed on the Lombards' survival and peregrinations. Nearly half of the book is devoted to the Lombards, which represents 21 chapters. The remaining six are relatively lengthy and represent digressions interposed to link the narrative and provide a somewhat cloaked coherence to the structure. There is significance in the positioning of these digressions. The first three are inserted early in the text after three relatively short, but significant first chapters which deal with the geographical origins of the Lombards, their first departure from *Scadinavia,* and the rule of Ibor and Aio together with their mother Gambara. In order of digression, Paul discusses the Seven Sleepers and the *Scritobini* before presenting an extensive excursus on whirlpools. Thereafter, until the eighteenth chapter, Paul ties his narrative to the fortunes and also the migrations of the Lombards from the north to the death of Gudeoc, the fifth (legendary) king. To mark the transfer from this timeless and legendary geography and history, Paul uses the nineteenth chapter on Odovacar and Severinus as a chronological peg. This allows his audience to place the next four chapters that take up the story of the Lombard kings within a broader chronology. His final interpolations presented the glories of Justinian (r. 527-565), his time, and Constantinople in 30 lines followed by the lengthiest chapter in the entire work, a poem in praise of Benedict of Nursia (480-547/548). This provides a lead up to the martial triumphs and valour of King Alboin (r. 565-572), the subject of Paul's last chapter. He thereby presents three staged contrasts: first, the civilised, legal, martial, and intellectual successes of Justinian; secondly, the spiritual triumphs of the founder of his monastic order, Benedict; and finally, the heroic endeavours of Alboin. In the last chapter Alboin's hard-fought triumph over the Gepids is described. The reader is thus prepared for more tales of Alboin in the second book. The interpolations are not, therefore, merely ornaments to the narrative, but carefully crafted stages which Paul uses as a narrative strategy to move

5 This on the basis that Book I covers 91 years i.e. 476-567. If one uses the first chronological reference to the division of Roman-occupied Germany into two provinces i.e. Upper and Lower *Germania*, the coverage extends and then equates to 562 years and reduces density of treatment to 20.81 years.

his work forward both chronologically and thematically, in the process presenting Alboin as the heir to Justinian and Benedict.

The structure of the first book can be set out as follows:

Table xxiv Thematic structure of Book I

Chapters	Subjects	Number of Lines
1-3	Lombard Origins and Geographical Contexts	31
4-6	*Digressions*	72
7-13	Survival, Migration, Victory of the Lombards	68
14-18	Legendary Lombard Kings	58
19	Odovacar and Severinus	14
20-24	Historical Lombard Kings	124
25-26	*Interpolations*	242
27	Alboin	30

In discussing the first book Goffart presented the structure of the work in seven parts as follows:

Table xxv Goffart's structural presentation of Book I[6]

Chapters	Subjects
1-3	Mythical Period
4-6	(North) Pole of Undesirability
7-14	Mythical Period (concluded)
15-17	Lamissio
18-24	Heroic Period
25-26	(South) Pole of Desirability
27	Heroic Period (concluded)

In Goffart's presentation Book I is 'notably symmetrical' as part of his bipartite structural theory (as noted in Chapter 4).[7] Goffart's evidential platform for this symmetry are the interpolations which he defines as extremes of undesirability in the north (although one wonders how 'northern' Galicia, Aquitaine, and Alderney really were or for that matter how undesirable) and an opposite south pole of desirability which encompasses Monte Cassino

6 *Narrators*, p. 384.

7 *Narrators*, p. 383. See Vinay, *Un mito per sopravvivere* in *Alto Medioevo Latino*, pp. 125-149, p. 131 in particular, for a similar idea about the parallels between the north and south.

and Constantinople. In this schema, Lamissio and his legendary actions are a narrative pivot at the point where the mythical (northern) legends meet the historical (southern) heroic history. There are a number of difficulties with this presentation. First, the narrative itself does not enter historical time until after the chapter on Odovacar and even then, only in a relative sense. Secondly, it is also at best only arguable whether one can detect a real variance between Goffart's mythical period and his heroic period. Within the context of the work there are instances of heroism within the mythical period and less than securely historical episodes within the so-called heroic period.[8] There does not appear to be as strong a thematic divide as Goffart would imply in his structural presentation. A tidy chiastic structure would thus not appear actually to fit the narrative as completed. Further, it is the use that Paul puts to the interpolations that undermines Goffart's presentation. Each digression is used by Paul not only, one suspects, to distract some of his readers' attention away from the pagan ambience of the story, but to also mark a series of stepped changes: first, from timeless ethnography to the legends of his people; secondly, to migrate from legend to history; and thirdly, to conclude with the narrative crescendo of Alboin's fame and lustre which prepares us for Book II.

Whilst the structural contours of Book I are relatively straightforward, the work's apparent chronology presents a number of difficulties. First, independent datable notices are negligible. This may be a function of both Paul's sources and the distance in time between him and his subject matter. In the first chapter Paul indicates that:

> *Quamvis et duas ultra Rhenum provincias Romani cum ea loca occupassent, superiorem inferioremque Germaniam dixerint.*
> The Romans, however, when they possessed those parts called the two provinces beyond the Rhine, Upper and Lower Germany.[9]

This then provides a date of about 5 CE with the creation of the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany after the defeat of the legions of Varus in the Teutoberger Wald.[10] Thereafter, Paul provides a notice that deals with the conflicts between Odovacar and the Rugians together with the activities

8 The Lombard slave defeats the *Assipitti*: *MGH SrL*, p. 53 and *Foulke*, pp. 20-21 and Rumetruda and the defeat of the Heruls: *MGH SrL*, p. 57-59 and *Foulke*, pp. 34-38. For the *Assipitti*, see *Capo*, p. 382.

9 *MGH SrL*, p. 48 and *Foulke*, p. 2 (with amendment).

10 Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, pp. 267-268.

of Severinus in *Noricum*.[11] This moves the narrative on to between 482 (the death of Severinus) and the end of the Rugian kingdom (487-488).[12] Finally, with the chapters on Justinian and the destruction of the Gepidic kingdom, Paul concludes the book with the events of 567. Thus he ends at a temporal watershed, just before the Lombards depart for Italy. Notionally the first book covers 562 years. However, between the start of the narrative and the eve of Alboin's departure, there is clearly a gap in chronology. It is at best an uncertain business attempting to assign fixed dates either to Lombard movements or early kings. The following dates for the pre-Italian phase Lombard kings, who form part of the narrative in the early part of Book I, have been suggested:

– *Aio and Ibor* with *Gambara*	(not styled as 'kings')
– Agelmund	?*c.* 380-410 (33 years)
– Lamissio/Laiamicho	?*c.* 420 (22 years)
– Lethu(c)	?c. 420-60 (40 years)
– Hildeoc	?c. 470 (24 years)
– *Godoin?*	?
– *Perone?*	?
– Godehoc	?*c.* 480 (16 years)
– Claffo	?*c.* 500 (28 years)
– Tato	?-*c.* 510
– Waccho	*c.* 510-40
– Waltari	540-547 (7 years)
– Audoin	547-60(5) (21 years)
– Alboin	565-572.[13]

The early part of Book I, which describes the migrations of the Lombards from *'Scadinavia'* under Ibor and Aio to *Scoringa,* places them within or close to their classically attested habitation.[14] It is thus impossible chronologically

11 *MGH SrL*, pp. 56- 57 and *Foulke*, pp. 31-33.

12 Christie, *The Lombards*, p. 21.

13 Christie, *The Lombards*, p. xxv. See *Capo*, p. 418; *Foulke*, p. 41; and *PLRE*, pp. 1552-1553 for stemmata of the families of Waccho and Alboin. Audoin is more frequently cited as ruling until 565. Brackets indicate length of reign according to the *Istoria Langobardorum an Epitomae ex Pauli Historia Factae*. See *MGH SrL*, p. 196. Both Godoin and Perone are mentioned in the *Historia Langobardorum Codex Gothani* but not listed elsewhere. See *MGH SrL*, p. 8, *'Ante Peronem regnavit Godoin; post Peronem tenuit principatum Langobardorum Claffo* (Before Perone, Godoin ruled, after Perone Claffo held the rulership of the Langobards)'. See Berto, *Testi storici*, p. 6.

14 *Capo*, p. 378 and Jarnut, *Zur Frühgeschichte des Langobarden*, pp. 1-16 (pp. 5-6). *Scoringa* has been rendered as 'Coast-land' or 'shoreland' and associated with modern day Mecklenburg.

for Agelmund to be the son of Aio, for this would have to represent a period of nearly 300 years.[15] Even within Paul's own prose there are indications that he could not be at all certain of the real-time connections between the movements, which may be tabulated as follows:

Table xxvi Migrations and Paul's relative chronology

Place	Period of Time	*HL* Book I Chapter	Rulers
Scadinavia	*unspecified*	2-3	Ibor and Aio
Scoringa	'for some years'	7	Ibor and Aio
Mauringa	*unspecified*	11-13	Ibor and Aio
Golanda	'remained some years'	13	Ibor and Aio
Anthaib	'for some years'	13	Ibor and Aio
Banthaib	'for some years'	13	Ibor and Aio
Vurgundaib	'for some years'	13	Ibor and Aio

Agelmund, the first named king, only enters Book I at Chapter 14. Paul is only able to suggest reign lengths for three of the early kings i.e. Agelmund, Lethuc, and Waltari, but all temporal notices remain relative without fixed chronological notices.[16] It would seem that Paul was not able to bridge the gap satisfactorily himself from the sources available to him. Attempting this task now is even more speculative. Paul's difficulties, and ours, are epitomised by the gap between his classical ethnographic sources, which briefly located the Lombards in the region of the upper Elbe around the Ist century CE. and his traditional and oral sources that commenced with the migration from *Scadinavia* under Ibor and Aio. It is with this difficult synthesis that Paul has to struggle. Let us now look at the sources, both explicit and implicit, that he consulted and how they influenced his narrative strategy in dealing with the gaps in his information. The explicit references to sources are shown in the table below and amount to the following notices:

15 Mommsen, *Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus*, p. 68.
16 *MGH SrL*, pp. 54, 56, and 60 and *Foulke*, pp. 26, 30, and 41.

Table xxvii Paul's citations in Book I

Reference	*HL* Reference	Source	Chapter
Pliny the Second	*Plinius Secundus in libris*	*Natural History*	2
those who have examined/related it to us	*sicut retulerunt nobis*	Oral Source	2
as is said	*ut fertur*	Oral Source	2
I saw (a coat)	*conspexi*	Paul's experience	5
as the ancients also have written	*sicut et antiqui scripserunt*	Pliny – *Natural History*?	5
I was stationed in Belgic Gaul	*Ego … in Gallia Belgica … constitutus*	Paul's experience	5
Virgil the Poet	*poeta Virgilio*	*Æneid*	6
they say there is another …	*Adfirmant …*	Oral Source	6
A certain high nobleman of the Gauls	*audivi quondam nobilissimum Gallorum*	Oral Source	6
Men of Old tell a silly story	*antiquitatis riduculam fabulam*	Oral Source	7
reported by our ancestors	*a maioribus traditur*	Oral Source	14
they say that when the Langobards	*ferunt hunc dum Langobardi …*	Oral Source	15
I have heard it related by some	*… ego referri a quibusdam audivi*	Paul's experience/ Oral Source	15
Prologue of the Edict … Rothari		*Edictum Rothari*	21
the poet Marcus		Marcus	26

There are three significant features in the ways in which Paul makes use of these references. First, he used his written sources, Pliny, Virgil, and Rothari's *Edictum*, to enhance the reliability of his statements. Thus Pliny is introduced to add lustre to his reference to *Scadinavia* as an island and authority to his own shadow calculations.[17] Secondly, Paul used his oral sources to provide further authority to his narrative. Thus, in Chapter 2, 'those who have examined it' provides additional authority (albeit vaguely stated) to both Pliny and Paul's assertions with regard to the insular character of *Scadinavia*.[18] Paul's digression with regards to whirlpools is not only ornamented with a quote from Virgil, but also confirmed by unspecified individuals and a certain

17 *MGH SrL*, pp. 48 and 50; *Foulke*, pp. 3 and 8; and *Capo*, pp. 374-5. Rackham (ed.), Pliny, *Natural History,* Vol. II, p. 193 and Vol. III, p. 31.
18 *MGH SrL*, p. 48 and *Foulke*, p. 3.

'high nobleman of the Gauls' (*quendam nobilissimum Gallorum*).[19] Thirdly, Paul uses his sources to distance himself from elements or features that he appears to be uncomfortable with. He introduces the story of Godan and Frea as a 'silly story' (*ridicula fabula*) and concludes that 'these things are worthy of laughter' (*haec risui digna sunt*).[20] He has more problems with Chapter 15 which relates, *inter alia*, the Lombard's encounters with the Amazons. Thus he writes, 'they say that when the Langobards …' [*ferunt hunc dum Langobardi …*]. Here, he has marked his own clear distance from the notice. Yet he continues to relate the events of Lammisio's triumph. His discomfort is further signalled by the lengthy explanation (17 lines) devoted to the report's veracity. At this point, we see Paul struggling with his ancient sources that proved the Amazons were destroyed 'long before' and unsubstantiated oral sources that would appear to confirm the opposite. He writes:

> *Nam et ego referri a quibusdam audivi, usque hodie in intimis Germania finibus gentam harum existere feminarum.*
> I have heard it related by some that the race of those women exists up to the present day in the innermost parts of Germany.[21]

This conflict is indicative of the sort of difficulties with the material of Book I, highlighted above, that Paul encountered. Whilst there is an extensive use of classical sources particularly at the start of the book, as shown in Table xxvii above, when confronted with their silence or presented with material he distrusted, he is forced to attempt to either explain away their evidence or use other later sources. Consequently, there are occasions in the narrative where he succeeds in glossing over the issues by silently passing from one scene to another without comment or more dramatically by changing his linear line of discussion with the use of interpolations and digressions. Clear signs of these difficulties are evident in the structure of the work. Paul's problem in composing a narrative about the origins of his people was perhaps the most acute example of these difficulties. Classical authors were silent on the origins of the Lombards and confined their brief comments

19 *MGH SrL*, p. 51 and *Foulke*, p. 10.

20 *MGH SrL*, p. 52 and *Foulke*, pp. 16-17. See *Narrators*, p. 386. Apparently for Goffart 'learned trappings of Euhemerism' 'neutralise' the tale.

21 *MGH SrL*, p. 55 and *Foulke*, p. 28. *Narrators*, p. 383, where Goffart suggests that Paul 'goes out of his way' to defend their historicity. See also Pohl, *Gender and Ethnicity* in Noble (ed.), *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdom*, pp. 168-188, particularly pp. 171-173.

to the military prowess of the people.[22] Paul was forced to rely upon later material, noticeably the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, possibly the third book of Fredegar, and, more arguably, a now lost Germanic *Heldensage* redacted into Latin prose. The first two were already over a century old when Paul composed Book I. These sources may in turn rely upon oral or poetic tradition that is even older. The links between the *Origo* (in particular) and the *Historia Langobardorum* have been considered previously, notably by Mommsen who undertook a systematic analysis of the textual differences between the two.[23] He did not, however, consider the evidence of Fredegar's Book III which Paul may have encountered.[24] Each of the versions which dealt with how the Lombards acquired their name are different in their details and structure. It will be useful to consider the details of their differences in order to investigate the influence of the earlier materials on Paul's work.

The earliest extant source for the bestowal of the name *'Langobardi'* upon the Winnili is the chronicle of Fredegar composed at some point before *c.* 660, probably in Burgundy.[25] The story as recounted by Fredegar is his first mention of the Lombards and comes directly before further notices about Alboin and the Lombard raids into the south of Gaul during the Lombard inter-regnum (i.e. 574-584). The sequence of events according to Fredegar is as follows:

a Before the Lombards assumed their name, they leave ***Scathanavia***.
b As they attempt to cross the Danube they encounter the Huns.
c To appear a more dangerous and numerous foe, the women fashion their hair to look like beards.
d As the warriors line up for battle **a voice** said to be Wodan declares 'These are the Long-beards' (*Haec sunt langobardi*).
e Then **the** Lombards shout, 'Since you have given a name, grant the victory.'
f The Lombards are victorious against the Huns and enter Pannonia.[26]

22 Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy,* pp. 54-55. There was a 400 year lacuna between these brief notices and later literary sources.

23 Mommsen, *Die Quellen des Langobardengeschichte,* pp.67-76.

24 *Narrators*, p. 384, 'the Frankish Fredegar chronicle – possibly known to Paul', but on the basis of the paucity of early seventh-century Lombard material in the *Historia Langobardorum,* Roger Collins suggests that the work was 'almost certainly unknown to Paul'. Collins, *Fredegar,* p. 100.

25 Krusch (ed.), *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, Tomus II*, p. 1-5 on date and composition. See also Cingolani, *Le Storie dei Longobardi,* pp. 29-31; Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar,* pp. xxii-xxiii and lv; Fouracre *Francia in the Seventh Century* in Fouracre (ed.), *NCMH* Vol.I, p. 372, 'two decades after 642' and Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chronniken*.

26 *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum,* p. 110.

This sequence is noticeably different from the other versions that survive and were written thereafter. First, Fredegar situates the scene to the south at the crossing of the Danube where the *Winnili*/*Langobardi* encounter the Huns. Finally, Fredegar obscured the divine pagan origin and nature of the story. He writes:

> *Fertur desuper uterque falangiae* ***vox*** *dixisse: 'Haec sunt langobardi' quod ab his gentibus fertur eorum deo fuisse locutum, quem fanatice nominant Wodano. Tunc* ***Langobardi*** *clammassent 'Qui instituerat nomine, concidere victoriam'.*
> It is said that above both ranks **a voice** said 'These are the Lombards' and it is said by those people to have been the voice of their God, whom they madly call Woden. Then the **Lombards** shouted 'Since you have given a name, grant [us] the victory'.[27]

Fredegar's story excludes any active agency of either Woden or Frea. He treats the episode as a military encounter between the *Winnili/Langobardi* and the Huns with a feature in which the use by the women of their hair to form beards is merely a ruse prompted by military necessity. Whilst it is interesting that Fredegar does not tell us the original name of the *Langobardi,* he does retain the central feature of the name-giving story i.e. the subterfuge by the *Winnili* women in transforming their hair into beards. Overall, however, this version may be 'confused' and 'reticent', but it is a crucial early witness to the Lombard origin story.[28] The somewhat incomplete nature of the story and its geographical inexactness would not lend credence to Pohl's suggestion that Fredegar attained his information from the Lombard court of Rothari and Gundeperga. Nevertheless, despite Fredegar's evident disapproval of the pagan origin of the story, he still thought it merited inclusion as an opening to the deeds and exploits of the Lombards which followed thereafter in his chronicle.[29]

The *Origo gentis Langobardorum* (*OGL*), as one would expect, as a product of Rothari's time (i.e. 636-651), has a more detailed story. The matter of the

27 *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum,* p. 110.

28 Cingolani, *La Storie dei Longobardi*, p. 38 '*il resoconto di Fredegario é in apparenza confuso e parrebbe anche reticente*'. Pohl links Fredegar's story to the role of Gundeperga, daughter of Theodolinda. See Pohl, *Gender and Ethnicity*, p. 180, and Pohl, *La Costruzione dell'identità Longobarda* in Chiesa, p. 417.

29 Both Everett and Collins suggest that Fredegar liked a 'good story', no matter, says Collins, how 'far-fetched the subject'. See Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, p. 92 and Collins, *Fredegar*, p. 98.

origins of the Lombards was more central to the purposes of the second source, the *OGL,* which was composed in the mid to late seventh-century. It is an anonymous work that provides a short 'potted history' of the Lombards from their early origins until the rule of either Grimoald (662-671) or Perctarit (672-688).[30] Whilst a direct link between the *Origo* and Fredegar cannot be entirely ruled out, since both tell roughly the same story, the obvious differences in the stories make a compositional link unlikely.[31] The sequence of the account is as follows:

a There is an island in the North called *Scandanan* where many peoples live, amongst whom are a small people called the *Winnili* whose rulers are Ybor and A(g)io together with their mother Gambara.
b The *Winnili* encounter the *Wandali*, led by Ambri and Assi who demand tribute. Ybor and A(g)io reply that it is better to fight than pay such tribute.
c Ambri and Assi ask **Godan** to give the *Wandali* the victory.
d He responds that whoever he sees first as the sun rises shall have the victory.
e At the same time, Gambara seeks help from **Frea**, the wife of Godan.
f Frea **suggests** that the Winnili women fashion their hair into beards.
g Frea turns Godan's bed round to the East. He sees the women.
h **He says,** 'Who are these long-beards?' (Qui sunt isti longibarbae? (sic))
i **Frea** replies, 'Just as you gave the name, now give them the victory'.
j The Lombards are victorious and are called *'Langobardi'* thereafter.

In contrast to Fredegar, the fundamental point of the story is emphasised and recounted. This, the assumption of the new name, is the 'central episode of the Lombard saga'.[32] The context provided by the author moves the action somewhere (one assumes) near an island called *Scandanan,* which is described as 'in the northern regions where many peoples live' (*in partibusque aquilonis ubi multe gentes habitant*). It is made clear that these people are called *Winnili* – 'a small people' (*gens parva*). Unlike Fredegar, the

30 Braciotti, *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, pp. 7-21. See also Cingolani, *Le storie dei Longobardi*, pp. 41-44; Pohl, *Paolo Diacono e la Costruzione dell'Identità Longobarda* in Chiesa, pp. 413-426; and Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 87-88.

31 For the evidence of a redacted Latin prose version of Germanic *Heldensage,* see Bruckner, *Die Sprache der Langobarden*; Bruckner, *Die Quelle der Origo gentis Langobardorum*, pp. 47-58 and Bracciotti, *Origo*, pp. 14-20.

32 Gasparri, *La cultura tradizionale dei Longobardi*, p. 12. '*L'episodio centrale della sage longobarda e costuito dall'assunzione di un nuovo nome di parte del popolo dei Winnili*'. See above i.e. p.12.

Origo names the leaders of the *Winnili* and indicates that their opponents in battle were the *Wandali*. Godan and Frea are now presented as the principal agents in the story without any adverse editorial comment. The narrative is not described as a 'silly story' and the author makes no effort to distance himself from the pagan orientation of his remarks.[33] Admittedly, he does not, however, make any comment on who Frea or Godan were, despite their crucial roles and actions in the origin story. The only solid similarities with Fredegar are the basis for the bestowal of the new name i.e. military conflict with the *Winnili* as numerical 'underdogs', the central element of the women's hair, and the ultimate outcome of the story.

Paul's version of the origin myth is the third account in chronological order. Broadly, his sequence of events matches the *Origo*'s. It is as follows:

a Leaving ***Scadinavia,*** the *Winnili* come to ***Scoringa*** with their leaders Ibor and Aio. At this time, Ambri and Assi, the leaders of the *Wandali,* are successful in war.
b Elated with victory, they demand tribute of the *Winnili*.
c Ibor and Aio seek advice of their mother Gambara and subsequently refuse payment. They prepare to fight and reply in these terms to the *Wandali*.
d The *Wandali* seek the help of Godan.
e Victory will be provided to those **he** sees first at the sunrise.
f At the same time, Gambara seeks the help of Frea.
g Frea **advises** Gambara to ensure that the Winnili women fashion their hair into beards and stand with their men in the East.
h Upon seeing them at sunrise **Godan** says, 'Who are these longbeards?' (*Qui sunt isti longibarbi?*)
i Frea 'induces' Godan to give them the victory in battle.
j The *Langobardi* are victorious.
k These stories are laughable because victory is furnished from heaven, **not** by the power of men.

In the subsequent chapter of Book I, Paul adds further comment. Not only does he here provide a simpler etymology for the Lombard name, but he also explains away the context of Godan, whom he describes as Wotan, the

33 Bracciotti (following Luiselli) suggests that the author was 'almost certainly Pagan or a Pagan sympathiser'–*quasi certamente pagano o paganeggiante*, Braciotti*, Origo gentis Langobardorum,* p. 7.

equivalent of Mercury but once, it is implied, a man resident in Greece.[34] There are a number of significant differences between Paul's sequence and the *Origo*'s. Whilst the broad architecture of the story is similar i.e. both the roles of the *Wandali*, Gambara, Frea, and Godan, and indeed the end result, there are important variations in the context, tone, and treatment. Interestingly, it is the actions of Frea after her advice to Gambara that are entirely absent in the *Historia Langobardorum*. It is only in the *Origo* that she turns around the bed of Godan and prompts him directly to grant the victory for the *Winnili*. Whilst Paul's account is richer than Fredegar's, its importance is reduced by the context Paul provides within his overall narrative. We see that Paul remained at pains to distance himself from the details of the story and the clear pagan ambience of the material. Consequently, the chapter commences with:

Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulam ... [At this point, the men of old tell a silly story ...][35] and concludes: *'Haec risui digna sunt et pro nihilo habenda. Victoria enim non potestati est attributa hominum, sed de caelo potius ministratur'* ['These things are worthy of laughter and are to be told of no account for victory is due not to the power of men, but it is rather furnished from heaven'].[36] Furthermore, as he continues, as noted above, Paul provides first an alternative natural origin story that excludes all divine agency; secondly, he demotes and euhemerises Godan.[37] He says in the next chapter:

> *Winnili igitur, qui est Langobardi, commisso cum Wandalis proelio, acriter, utpote pro libertatis gloria, decertentes, victoriam capiunt.*
> The *Winnili* therefore, who are also *Langobardi*, having joined battle with the *Wandali*, struggle fiercely, since it is for the glory of freedom, and win the victory.[38]

34 *MGH SrL*, pp. 52-53 and *Foulke*, p. 18. For etymology see Engels, *Observations sur le Vocabulaire de Paul Diacre*, p. 82. An alternative is that the name comes from 'Long spears'; Pohl, *Gender and Ethnicity*, pp. 178-179. Paul the Deacon relies upon Isidore of Seville, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum*, libri xx, IX.2.95, http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/toc.aspx; Throop, *Isidore of Seville's Etymologies* (un-paginated); and Green, *Linguistic and Literary Traces of the Langobards*, in Ausenda, Delogu, and Wickham (eds)., *The Langobards Before the Frankish Conquest*, pp. 174-186 (pp. 174-175 in particular). For Paul the Deacon's use of Isidore more generally, see Heath, *Hispania et Italia* in Fear and Wood (eds.), *Isidore of Seville and his Reception*, pp.159-176.

35 *MGH SrL*, p. 52 and *Foulke*, p. 16.

36 *MGH SrL*, p. 52 and *Foulke*, p. 17.

37 *MGH SrL*, pp. 52-53 and *Foulke*, pp. 17-19.

38 *MGH SrL*, p. 53 and *Foulke*, p. 19.

Combined with Paul's earlier observations on the story, the impression provided is that the whole origin myth is one to be devalued. There are better reasons for both the name of the Lombards and for the battle victory: they are simple and do not cause any awkwardness with the Christianity of the author. If then, the details are worthy of ridicule, one conundrum remains. Why did Paul take the trouble to include them in his work? Nicholas Everett suggested that Paul felt 'compelled' to include it 'for fear of disappointing his readers'.[39] This would imply that Paul knew that he could not simply elide the story entirely (as the author of the *Historia Langobardorum Codex Gothani* subsequently did).[40] The *OGL* may be crucial here in that as a known work at the Lombard court, Paul set about composing a re-fashioned version of the story which could suit his own responses to the origin myth. Paul himself indicated this by noting his use of a version of the *Origo* which he refers to as 'the prologue of the edict which King Rothari composed'.[41] Even so, it is important to avoid using simple 'models of dependence and transmission' here since it is possible that Paul had before him other versions of the story.[42]

We have seen that there are significant editorial differences between the *Origo* and Paul (and Fredegar), but at this point we still need to consider closely the language of the three sources, which will further indicate Paul's dependence or independence in the matter of this story. If we compare the three narratives and their story sequences in the Latin the picture is as follows:

39 Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, p. 94.

40 For the *Historia Langobardorum Codex Gothani* see *MGH SrL*, pp. 7-11 and Berto, *Testi storici e poetici*, pp. 1-20.

41 *MGH SrL*, p. 59 and *Foulke*, p. 39.

42 Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, p. 94.

Fredegar III.65	***Origo gentis Langobardorum***	***Historia Langobardorum* I.7 and 8**
a) *Langobardorum gens, priusquam hoc nomen adsumerit, exientes de Scathanavia que est inter Danuvium et mare Ocianum, cum uxores et liberis Danuvium transmeant.*	a) *Est insula qui dicitur Scandanan quod interpretatur excidia; in partibus aquilonis, ubi multe gentes habitant; inter quos erat gens parva quae Winnilis vocabatur. Et erat cum eis mulier nomine Gambara, habebatque duos filios, nomen uni Ybor et nomen alteri Agio; ipsi cum matre sua nomine Gambara principatum tenebant super Winnilis.*	a) *Igitur egressi de Scadinavia Winnili cum Ibor et Aione ducibus, in regionem quae adpellatur Scoringa venientes, per annos illic aliquot consederunt. Illo itaque tempore Ambri et Assi Wandalorum duces vicinas quasque provincias bello premebant.*
b) *Cum a Chunis Danuvium transuentes fussent conperti, eis bellum conarent inferred, interrogati a Chuni, que gens eorum terminus introire praesumerit.*	b) *Moverunt se ergo duces Wandalorum id est Ambri et Assi cum exercitu suo et dicebant ad Winniles: 'Aut **solvite** nobis tributa, aut preparate vos ad pugnam et pugnante nobiscum.' Tunc responderent Ybor et Agio cum matre sua Gambara 'Melius est nobis pugnam preparare quam Wandalis tributa **persolvere**'.*	b) *Hi iam multis elati victoriis, nuntios ad Winnilos mittunt, ut aut tributa Wandalis persolverent aut se ad belli certamina praepararent*
c) *At ille mulieris eorum praecipunt comam capitis ad maxellas et mentum legarint, quo pocius virorum habitum simulantes plurima multitudines hostium ostenderint, eo quod errant mulierem coma circa maxellas et mentum ad instar barbae valde longa.*	c)*Tunc Ambri et Assi, hoc est duces Wandalorum rogaverunt Godan ut daret eis super Winnilis victoriam*	c) *Tunc Ibor et Agio admitente matre Gambara deliberant, melius est armis libertatum tueri, quam tributorum eandem solutione foedare. Mandant per legatos Wandalis, pugnaturos se potium quam servituros. Erant siquidem tunc Winnili universi iuvenili aetate florentes, sed numero perexigui quippe qui unius non nimiae amplitudinis insulae tertia solummodo particula fuerint.* *Refert hoc loco antiquitas riduculam fabulam*:
d) *Fertur desuper falangiae vox dixisse: '**Haec sunt langobardi**' quod ab his gentibus fertur eorum deo fuisse locutum, quem fanatice nominant Wodano.*	d) *Respondit Godan dicens: 'Quos sul surgente antea videro, ipsis dabo victoriam'.*	d) *quod accedentes Wandali ad Godan victoriam de Winnilis postulaverint*

Fredegar III.65	***Origo gentis Langobardorum***	***Historia Langobardorum* I.7 and 8**
e) *Tunc Langobardi clamassent 'Qui iustituerat nomen, concidere victoriam'*	e) *Eo tempore Gambara cum duobus filiis suis, id est Ybor et Agio, qui principes errant super Winnilis, rogaverunt Fream, uxorem Godan, ut ad Winnilis esset propitia.*	e) *illeque responderit, se illis victoriam daturum quos primum oriente sole conspexisset.*
f) *Hoc prilio Chunus superant partena Pannoniae invadunt.*	f) *Tunc Frea* ***dedit consilium****, ut sol surgente venirent Winnilis et mulieres eorum crines solute circa* ***faciem in similitudinem barbe*** *et* ***cum viris*** *suis venirent.*	f) *Tunc accessisse Gambara ad Fream, uxorem Godan, et Winnilis victoriam postulasse,*
	g) *Tunc luciscente sol dum surgeret, giravit Frea, uxor Godan, lectum ubi recumbebat vir eius, et fecit faciem eius contra orientum, et excitavit eum.*	g) *Freamque* ***consilium dedisse****, ut Winnilorum mulieres solutos crines erga* ***faciem ad barbae similitudinem*** *conponerunt maneque primo* ***cum viris*** *adessent seseque a Godan videndas paritere regione, qua ille per fenestram orientem versus erat solitus aspicere conlocarent.*
	h) *Et ille aspiciens vidit Winniles et mulieres ipsorum crines solutes circa faciem et ait: '****Qui sunt isti longibarbae****?'* (sic).	h) *Atque ita factum fuisse. Quas cum Godan oriente sole conspiceret Dixisse: '****Qui sunt isti longibarbi?****'*[43]
	i) *Et dixit Frea ad Godan 'sicut dedisti nomen da illis et victoriam'.*	i) *Tunc Frea subiunxisse, ut quibus nomen triburat victoriam condonaret.*
	j) *Et dedit eis victoriam, ut ubi visi essent vindicarent se et victoriam haberent. Ab illo tempore Winnilis Langobardi vocati sunt.*	j) *Sicque Winnilis Godan victoriam concessisse.*
		k) *Haec risui digna sunt et pro nihilo habenda. Victoria enim non potestati est ad tributa hominum, sed de caelo potius ministratur.*

In setting out the language used by the three sources and their sequence of events, it is demonstrable that Paul's version is more than either a

43 See *MGH SrL*, p. 52 for the nine variants of the name.

combination of Fredegar and the *Origo* or merely a re-edit of the latter. It is evident that Paul's version does not depend upon either the language or the influence of Fredegar. Whilst he may have agreed with the tone of Fredegar's conclusions, there are no connections or links in either language or sequence. Whilst the sequencing of the accounts provided by Fredegar and Paul are broadly two-thirds the same, there remain significant variations in both the geographical context and the pertinent personalities involved. It is possible that Fredegar and Paul relied upon separate traditions that circulated in Burgundy and northern Italy, but Paul's lack of use of Fredegar's Book IV, where such knowledge would have been useful, adds to the likelihood that he did not have a text of Fredegar before him when he composed this part of the *Historia Langobardorum*.

The connections between the *Origo* and the *Historia Langobardorum* are more difficult to unravel. There are, as noted above, broad but significant similarities in the sequencing of the core origin myth. The contours of the story and the crucial involvement of Frea, her advice, and the 'hair-into-beards' motif are all present in both versions. The details of the stories and the language used, however, serve to highlight the differences between the authors. First, with the details, the *Origo* gives greater emphasis to the responses of Gambara, Ybor, and A(g)io to the demand for tribute by the *Wandali*, whereas Paul provides a number of significant additional details to his story. First, he places the action in the area called *Scoringa* and explains that the *Winnili* were youthful but insubstantial in numbers. Secondly, the language used by Paul includes frequent use of the subjunctive mood and indirect speech. He uses direct speech on only one occasion for the conclusion. This was also the only occasion that he uses exactly the same words as the *Origo*. His language is both more sophisticated but also less certain, more speculative of the events depicted. Finally, the narrative crescendo present in the *Origo*, with its use of alliteration and repetition, is obscured within Paul's polished Latin wherein the final moment is reached with the plain observation *'Atque ita factum fuisse'* [And so it was done].[44] Thus the story in the *Historia Langobardorum* concludes with Frea merely inducing Godan to grant the victory, rather than taking active steps to facilitate such a victory. Whilst textual similarities between the two works are limited, a broad view of their compositional structure would allow for connection, but it is clear that Paul has edited both the language and the narrative context of the origin story. Not only does he add details, providing an alternative etymology, but he also ultimately ridicules the whole thing. An analysis

44 *MGH SrL*, p. 52 and *Foulke*, p. 16.

of the language alone allows for connection between the texts, but at the same time it also suggests that Paul had more than just the *Origo* at hand as his basis for the origin myth.

Theodor Mommsen in his important analysis of the textual similarities formulated the view that Paul had a more copious source before him. He believed that that source was a more extensive (and now lost) version of the *Origo* (which in turn depended upon the now lost work of Secundus of Non [d. *c.* 612]).[45] Thus the work, we now know as the *Origo* is abbreviated. For Mommsen, Paul depended upon this extended version. Mommsen's extrapolations would appear to be over-ambitious on this occasion and dependent, as Waitz pointed out, on a very limited evidential base. Whilst it is clear that Paul had different things to say on the subject than the *Origo*, it is not possible to be certain about his other sources. It is attractive, though speculative, to ascribe these differences to oral sources or traditions. Paul's experiences in the court of Ratchis provided an environment in which he may have heard and had contact with *Heldensage* of the ancient deeds and exploits of his people. Even if we accept this, however, Paul's editorial hand is very evident throughout the origin story. For this highly significant entry into the history of his people, Paul, despite his abundant reservations, chooses to repeat it nonetheless. Notwithstanding his criticisms, there is a sense that as a more sophisticated writer than the *Origo's* author, he wanted to improve the re-telling of the legends. It is noticeable, for instance, that where the *Origo* employs a simpler structure with the use of indicative mood perfect or imperfect tenses, Paul's approach utilises a more sophisticated Latin grammar. His use of subordinate clauses (i.e. after *ut* and *cum*) prompt the necessary use of the subjunctive mood, particularly with the actions and utterances of Frea, Godan, and all those who interact with them. In the engineering of his narrative, one wonders whether the presence of seven verbs in the subjunctive mood here, might have the additional effect of less certainty, rather than merely grammatical correctness. Pointedly, Paul ends the chapter by switching to the indicative mood to conclude that 'these things are worthy of laughter and are to be held of no account'.[46]

45 Mommsen, *Die Quellen*, pp. 59 and 64. Mommsen makes much of the use of 'thence' *exinde* to describe (the site of battle) from where the Lombards moved after battle. This 'thence' he contends does not refer back to anything (in particular the *Scoringa* mentioned by Paul). There is then an absence in the form of the *Origo* as we possess it, but Paul's additional details demonstrate for Mommsen that there must have been a more extensive version available to him.

46 *MGH SrL*, p. 52 and *Foulke*, p. 17.

The trajectory of Paul's narrative in Book I after the origin story follows both the Lombards and their kings to the edge of their Italian adventures. Paul briefly pauses to describe the deeds of Agelmund and the encounter of Lamissio with the Amazons before entering historical time with Odovacar's war against the Rugians. At this point he makes a number of contrasts in his narrative, most notably between its legendary and oral sources and his later written materials. The overall impression, however, is that Paul had little source material at his disposal. Although there are 50 named individuals in Book I (20 of whom are Lombards), a sizeable proportion are little more than names.[47] Lethu(c), Hildeoc, Gudeoc, and Claffo, for instance, are counted as kings, but no notice of their deeds is provided.[48] Significantly, this is also the case with the *Origo,* which includes reference to the military movements of Odovacar, though it is presented without Paul's additions regarding Severinus.[49] Similarly, Waccho's direct marriage alliances and indirect marriage contacts through his daughters provide a plethora of names.[50]

Even after the temporal watershed embodied by Odovacar (i.e. 487-489), Paul's information was still limited. He can describe both Waccho's marriage alliances and his indirect marriage contacts through the nuptials of his daughters, but the reality remains that he was only able to provide names without comment.[51] Again the similarity with the *Origo* is striking as a comparison of the language shows:

47 This figure excludes authorities and references i.e. Pliny, Virgil, Marcus, and Rothari. Odin and Freyr are also excluded together with the Amazons and Bulgarians. The figures for named individuals are: 21 Lombards (of which eleven are kings), ten Romans/Byzantines, five Gepids, four Franks, three Heruls, three Vandals, two Rugians, one each of Thuringians, Ostrogoths, Noricans, 'Moors', Bavarians, and Scirians.

48 See *MGH SrL*, pp. 56-57 and *Foulke*, pp. 30-33. Lethuc and Hildeoc's notices are divided from Godehoc and Claffo by the chapter on Odovacar.

49 Bracciotti, *Origo*, pp. 108-109.

50 *MGH SrL*, p. 60 and *Foulke*, p. 40. For the marriage alliances see Christie, *Lombards*, p. 32.

51 *MGH SrL*, p. 60 and *Foulke*, p. 40.

Origo	*Historia Langobardorum*
Eo tempore inclinavit Wacho Suavas sub regno Langobardorum. Wacho habuit uxores tres: Raicundam filia Fisud regi Turingorum; et post eam acepit uxorem Austrigusa filiam Gippidorem et habuit Wacho de Austrigusa filias duas, nomen unae Wisigarda, quam tradidit in matrimonium Theudiperti Regis Francorum; et nomen secundae Walderada, quam habuit uxorem Scusuald, rex Francorum, quam odio habens, tradidit eam Garipald in uxorem. Filia Regis Herculorum tertiam uxorem habuit nomen Silinga; de ipsa habuit filium nomine Waltari	*Eodemque tempore Waccho super Suavos inruit eosque suo dominio subingavit. Hoc si quis mendacium et non rei existimat veritatem, relegat prologum edicti, quem rex Rothari de Langobardorum legibus conposuit, et pene in omnibus hoc codicibus, sicut nos in hac historiola inservuimus, scriptum repperiet. Habuit autem Waccho uxores tres, hoc est primam Ranicundam, filiam Regis Turingorum; deinde duxit Austrigusam filiam Regis Gepidorum, de qua habuit filias duas: nomen uni Wisegarda, quam tradidit in matrimonium Theudiperto regi Francorum; seconda autem dicta est Walderada quae sociata est Cusupald, alio regi Francorum, quam ipse odio habens uni ex suis, qui dicebatur Garipald, in coniugium tradidit. Tertiam vero Waccho uxorem habuit Herolurum Regis filiam nomine Salingam. Ex ipsa ei natus est filius, quem Waltari appellavit…*[52]

Even without Paul's assertion that the details of his notice originate from the *Origo*, we can see that in the construction of this passage he has followed his source in both terms of structure and detail. Paul uses the genealogy and the passage of the Lombard kings as a device to imply the movement of time and to suggest the development of a culmination to Book I with the activities of Alboin. Once past Waccho (*c.* 510-540), Paul had more material and thus, it would seem, more to say. With the arrival of Alboin into his narrative, we can once again identify how he chose to edit and present his subject.

In his treatment of Alboin, Paul demonstrates that he is both a culmination of what has gone before and, at the same time, the bridging-point between the first and second books. Not only does Alboin figuratively span these books, but he also embodies the historical connection as the Lombard king, first in Pannonia and then in Italy. He exemplifies the culmination of the earlier migratory leaders of the Lombards and demonstrates, at the same time, the ideal qualities of the martial ruler. Previously, Paul had described the legendary first Lombard leaders, Ibor and Aio, as 'in the bloom of youthful vigour' (*iuvenili aetate floridi*).[53] Lamissio was *'strenus iuvenis'* (a vigorous youth) who was *'belicossimus extiterit'* (very fond of fighting).[54]

52 *MGH SrL*, pp. 4 and 59-60.
53 *MGH SrL*, p. 49 and *Foulke*, p. 5.
54 *MGH SrL*, p. 55 and *Foulke*, p. 27.

Alboin, the victorious king, was not only 'very illustrious' and 'distinguished for power', but also 'a man fitted for wars and energetic in all things' (*virum bellis aptum et per omnia strenuum peperit*).[55] He is presented in terms of a successful war-leader who first appeared fighting against the Gepids.[56] Subsequently he is shown obtaining arms from Turisind, the Gepid king, before the book concludes with his final triumph over the Gepids in 567. The structure of the book, at this stage, is illustrative of how Paul sought to emphasise the importance of Alboin by implied association with his other subjects. The structure is as follows:

Chapter 23	Lombards and Gepids fight. Alboin kills Turismod, the son of Turisind, the Gepid king.
Chapter 24	Alboin and forty companions travel to the Gepid court.
Chapter 25	Emperor Justinian and his greatness.
Chapter 26	St. Benedict and his miracles.
Chapter 27	The kingship and fame of Alboin.

Paul repeats a device that he first used in the *Historia Romana*. His notice of Alboin in the earlier work concerns his success and his defeat of Turismod. In the *HR*, he links the deeds of Alboin into his narrative that first recounted the success of Belisarius over the Vandals, then proceeds to mention (briefly) Benedict of Nursia, before concluding with Alboin. This was placed as the penultimate chapter of (the last) Book XVI in the *HR*. Paul concludes the book with the end of the Gothic war in Italy.[57] Here, apparently, he has created an 'inevitable parenthesis'.[58] For Goffart, however, these digressions are curiously 'negative touches'.[59] There is more subtlety associated with the structure in the *HL*, than merely a set of contrasts which we see in the *HR*. First, the presence of these chapters solidifies the narrative's historical credentials as the story moves from the first reliable historical notice of Odovacar to the less chronologically secured reigns of the Lombard kings to Alboin. Secondly, in the proximity of Alboin, Justinian, and Benedict in the text, Paul prepares his readers for the greater narrative complexity of the succeeding books. The impression is that the explicit contrasts are on a more subtle level and the implicit connections are worked in both directions. Justinian is described as 'prosperous in waging war and admirable

55 *MGH SrL*, p. 68 and *Foulke*, p. 49.
56 *MGH SrL*, p. 61 and *Foulke*, pp. 42-43.
57 *Crivellucci*, p. 236.
58 Alfonsi, *Romani e Barbari di Paolo Diacono*, pp. 7-23 (p.8). '*inevitabile parentesi*'.
59 *Narrators*, p. 387.

in civil matters', but he is glorified as much through his contemporaries as through his own deeds.[60] Paul emphasises military, intellectual, and legal successes of his reign, which although partially achieved by Belisarius and John the ex-Consul, for instance, allow Justinian to adopt a slew of triumphal surnames.[61] Paul concludes with the observation: *'Erat enim hic princeps fide catholicus, in operibus rectus, in iudiciis iustus; ideoque ei omnia concurrebant in bonum'* ['The emperor in fact was Catholic in his faith, upright in his deeds, just in his judgements and therefore to him all things came together for good'].[62] Alboin does not compare directly to Justinian. However, exalted as the yardstick of Catholic orthodoxy, as a guardian of prosperity, and as victorious in war, Justinian reflects his glory onto the Lombard king.

Subsequently, with the next chapter of the work, Paul includes two poems in praise of St. Benedict, who is described as *'beatissimus ... pater'* [most blessed father] and as 'renowned for his great life and apostolic virtues' [*magnae vitae meritis et apostolicis virtutibus effulsit*].[63] At first glance, connections here between Alboin and Benedict are even more unlikely than those between Justinian and the Lombard king, but there are significant contrasts at work. Both poems emphasise, as one might expect, the power and success of Benedict and his miracles. Rather than encourage and rule a war-band, we are told, Benedict's authority and rule attracts the spiritual warrior. He is described as:

> *Dux bone, bella monens exemplis pectora firmas / Primus su arma ruis, dux bona, bella monens.*
> Brave leader! Warning of wars, thou confirms our hearts by example / Rushing the first to arms! Brave leader, warning of wars.[64]

Akin to Alboin, Benedict has a long tale of triumphs and countless virtues.[65] Benedict's spiritual apprenticeship is provided away from his home, and

60 *MGH SrL*, pp. 62-63 and *Foulke*, pp. 45-47.

61 *Alamannicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Wandalicus, Africanus*. *MGH SrL*, pp. 62-63.

62 *MGH SRL*, p. 63 and *Foulke*, p. 47. See also Alfonsi, *Romani*, pp. 10-1.

63 *MGH SrL*, p. 67 and *Foulke*, pp. 47-48.

64 *MGH SrL*, p. 67 and Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, p. 410. See also *Capo*, pp. 58-59 and 418. For the hymn see Smolak, *Poetologisches zu den Benedikthymnum* in Chiesa, pp. 505-526.

65 *MGH SrL*, p. 64 and Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, p. 393: '*Ordiar unde tuos, sacer O Benedicte trimphos, virtutum cumulos ordiar unde tuos*?'

like Alboin, he must seek his arms from a foreign people.[66] Repeatedly, the power of Benedict's miracles and his sanctity defeat 'evil' spirits or Satan.[67] To his disciples he was a 'powerful leader' (*dux … potens*).[68] Again, a direct link to Alboin is not made, but Paul's emphases upon the power and success of Benedict allows an implied connection to the Lombards and their king. Where Alboin is a successful earthly king, Benedict is the spiritual equivalent. Of course, Alboin is fundamentally a different 'kettle of fish' to both Justinian and Benedict. Paul did not intend, it should be noted, to provide a clumsy correlation between the three individuals. Instead, he uses the structure of his work to suggest the connectivity between them, which allowed his readers to infer a link. Subsequent to these stepped and carefully crafted interpolations, and having planted these associations in his readers' minds, Paul provides his last notice of Alboin before he leads the Lombards into Italy. It is worth quoting his concluding remarks in full:

> *Alboin vero ita praeclarum longe lateque nomen percrebuit ut hactenus etiam tam aput Baioariorum gentem quamque et Saxonum, sed et alios eiusdem linguae homines eius liberalitas et gloria bellorumque felicitas et virtus in eorum carminibus celebretur. Arma quoque praecipua sub eo fabricata fuisse, a multis hucusque narratur.*
> In this manner the name of Alboin was spread abroad far and wide, so that even up to this time his generosity and glory of [his] wars and his good fortune and courage are celebrated not only among the Bavarians and the Saxons, but also among other men of the same tongue in their songs. It is also related by many, up to the present time that a special kind of arms was made under him.[69]

This description works back to his appraisal of Justinian's good fortune and his success in war and to the fame and virtue of Benedict. Yet the details and judgements of Alboin, although noted in the songs of Bavarians and Saxons, in this the first book of the *HL,* are Paul's. Whilst, as we shall see, Alboin is considered in other sources, Paul's references to Alboin before the Lombards enter Italy is distinctive in terms of structure and editorial composition. His choice of contrasts allows a powerful set of associations with the holy and successful in the Mediterranean basin. His use of materials that are no

66 Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, p. 394 and *MGH SRL*, p. 64.
67 Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, pp. 395-396 and *MGH SrL*, pp. 64-65.
68 Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, p. 414 and *MGH SrL*, p. 68.
69 *MGH SrL*, p. 70 and *Foulke*, p. 52 (amended).

longer extant demonstrates the 'heroic' and the war-like qualities of Alboin and no doubt presented an environment barely touched by the Christian orthodoxy of either Justinian or Benedict.[70] With limited and probably controversial subject matter, Paul made the choice to provide a contrast that could allow him to be silent about the tricky matter of Alboin's religion. Paul's Alboin of Book I was, however, an unfinished product. Nothing is written that detracts either from his fame or courage, least of all his religious loyalties. His presence at the end of the book, in proximity to Justinian and Benedict, provides a culmination and a bridging contrast. With the end of the book, we reach the end of the Lombard migrations, the end of their semi-legendary history, and their arrival upon the scene of the rest of the work to follow. The contrasts drawn demonstrate the world into which the Lombards would enter. The contrasted attributes and qualities between on the one hand, Alboin and his people, and on the other, the Roman Justinian and Benedict are those that the Lombards would encounter more frequently as they crossed the threshold between Pannonia and Italy and as Paul moved his narrative from Book I to the second book.

Book II 'The World Brought Back to its Ancient Silence': Narses and Alboin

In Alessandro Manzoni's (1785-1873) tragedy *Adelchis,* the defeated and dejected Lombard king, Desiderius, declares:

> Cursed be the day when Alboin climbed the mountain / And looking down said 'This will be my land' / An untrustworthy land, which would soon gape / Under his heirs' feet and swallow them all / Cursed be the day when he led them to this land / A people who prove to be so worthless / A Guardian! Cursed be the day when he founded / On this land a kingdom which should have come /To such a wretched end amidst such shame.[71]

70 *'Non ci sono fonti scritti per questo episodio'* suggests Capo for the visit to Turisind. *Capo*, p. 403. Alboin and his father are mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon poem 'Widsith' as Ælfwine and Eadwine. Ælfwine is described as having 'the promptest hand among mankind in achieving praise and a heart quite un-niggardly in giving out rings and gleaming collars'. See Bardley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 339.

71 Deigan, *Alessando Manzoni's The Count of Carmagnola and Adelchis*, p. 262 and Wood, *Adelchi and Attila*, pp. 233-255.

The second book of the *Historia Langobardorum* also recalls the moment Alboin 'gazed upon a portion of Italy' as he led the Lombards and their allies over the mountains.[72] Within the narrative there is a hint of a reluctance to cross this threshold. Where before, as we have seen, the Lombards inhabit a legendary, mythical world of heroes and mighty deeds, their entry into Italy is a moment of triumph and danger. From this point onwards Paul's narrative is more than merely one of the Lombards *in absentia*. Paul's task becomes one of greater complexity, where he must attempt to integrate his people into the full glare of Mediterranean history. For Paul, just as for Manzoni, there are suggestions that the fortuitous arrival is an unlucky omen of the future. Thus he describes the portents of their arrival:

> *Continuo aput Italiam terribilia noctu signa visa sunt, hoc est igneae acies in caelo apparuerunt eum scilicet qui postea effusus est sanguinem coruscantes.*
> In Italy terrible signs were continually seen at night, that is, fiery swords appeared in heaven gleaming with that blood which was afterwards shed.[73]

In this fashion Book II introduces the Lombards into Italy. From this point onwards the narrative becomes more than a depiction of their progress and migration. The structure of Book II entwines two separate but interdependent strands. The first charts the Lombard conquest, consolidation, and fractious disintegration, whilst the second recounts the Italian triumphs of Narses (478-573), his downfall, and the consequent Roman failure before the Lombards. Paul's use of structural devices by way of both interludes and digression connects these two themes and works to emphasise the continuing importance of Alboin in the narrative.

With this broad shift in the panorama of his narrative, both his use of sources and the structure of his narrative show how Paul met his compositional challenge. In what follows, first, this section will briefly set out the contours of the narrative; it will, secondly, analyse Paul's use of sources for two crucial elements of the book, namely Narses and the undoing of Alboin; finally, it will use this analysis to unpick issues of structure and treatment.

72 *MGH SrL*, p. 76 and *Foulke*, p. 64. See Bianchi, *Riflessi Romani*, pp. 23-59 (p. 52 in particular) for a parallel with Hannibal and his elephants.

73 *MGH SrL*, p. 75 and *Foulke*, p. 61. Capo highlights the connection to Gregory the Great. See *Capo*, p. 430. Gregory, *Dialogues*, III.38, '*Prius quam Italia gentili gladio ferienda traderetur igneas in coelo acies vidimus, ipsumque qui postea humani generis fusus est sanguinem coruscantes*.' Gregory the Great, *Homiliae XL in Evangelia*, in *PL*, LXXVI, Ii col.1078.

This will assist in understanding the context of the final two famous chapters, which describe disintegration and genocide. It will be suggested that these final chapters, in particular, are vital to an understanding of the narrative structure of Book II, Paul's intent, and its connection to Book III.

Besides the narrative of the Lombard conquest of Italy and its impact on the peninsula, Book II has both digressions and interludes. Nevertheless, the Lombards, and Alboin in particular, remain the 'glue' for the book's structure. Book II devotes 167 lines to the Lombards out of a possible total of 393. This equates to 42% of the book. The largest section of the remaining 58% is a solid block of nine chapters, which are a geographical *excursus* about Italy and its provinces (see Table xxi above). The positioning of this section, after the death of Narses and between two notices on Alboin, provides underpinning to the change in the narrative focus. Henceforth the work details Lombard history together with the Lombards' interactions with peoples and individuals they encounter within the Italian peninsula. At this juncture, before discussion of the book's structure and its intent, we shall analyse Paul's use of sources, with particular emphasis on Narses and the death of Alboin. The overall use of materials that Paul used in Book II signifies a shift in the profile of his sources from that of Book I. The problem for Book I had been the lack of materials for the early period, which had forced Paul to combine classical ethnography with oral tradition. This was not necessary for the second book, which depended upon sources closer in both time and space to their depicted subjects.

As an 'assiduous user of sources', Paul used an extensive range of materials both in terms of type and geographical origin.[74] Paul's task in Book II was to meld together annalistic, historical, and classical writers, as well as poetry and hagiography, and by so doing construct a narrative. There are a number of features with regard to the broad distribution of source use that can be noted. First, the central geographical *excursus* used a number of classical writers and Isidore of Seville in a block of narrative, although still retaining a number of original, even fanciful features.[75] Here, as shall be discussed in more detail below, he employed his classical sources to support his observations on the provinces, particularly when their witness supported his argument. Secondly, the narrative is underpinned by Paul's reuse of annalistic sources. His use of both Marius of Avenches and Secundus of Non supplied the foundation of his narrative, but did not formulate

74 *Narrators* (2005), p. xxxiii.

75 Mommsen, *Die Quellen*, pp. 84-103; *Narrators,* pp. 390-391*; Capo,* pp. 437-438 and Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, pp. 379-387.

or constrict his overall agenda. Finally, there is the use, but again not a total dependence upon, narrative material such as the *OGL*. This furnished important information for significant sections such as the death of Alboin and the rule of Cleph and the dukes, but was used as a narrative template for the more developed approach of Paul. The overall profile of sources used demonstrates that Paul carefully adapted his materials to suit his purposes.

Paul's use of direct references is illustrative of this change in his source profile and his methods. If one collates all his direct references in Book II, as below, one can determine that these are more limited in extent and scope than those in Book I. They are as follows:

Chapter 14	'This is proved in the **books of annals**'[76] and 'According to **Roman history**'.[77]
Chapter 18	'There are **some** who say that the Cottian and Appennine Alps are one province but the **history of Victor** refutes them'[78] and 'There were also **some** who called Emilia and Valeria and Nursia one province but the opinion of these cannot stand …'[79]
Chapter 20	'The territory of Marsians … is not at all described by the **ancients** in the catalogue of the provinces of Italy …'[80]
Chapter 23	'the **old writers** of history …'[81] and'hence it is that **Donatus**, the grammarian in his explanation of Virgil says that Mantova is in Gaul'.[82]
Chapter 28	'lest this should seem impossible to anyone, I speak the truth in Christ. **I saw** King Ratchis holding this cup in his hand on a certain festal day to show it to his guests'.[83]
Chapter 30	'**some** affirm …'[84]

The references to classical writers between Chapters 14 and 23 are used to authenticate details in the geographical digression. Even here, whilst Victor, Virgil, and Donatus are all named directly, there remains less clarity about the origins of some of Paul's opinions on the provinces. He was noticeably

76 *Foulke*, p. 71 and *MGH SrL*, p. 81.
77 *Foulke*, p. 71 and *MGH SrL*, p. 81.
78 *Foulke,* p. 74 and *MGH SrL*, p. 83.
79 *Foulke*, p. 74 and *MGH SrL*, p. 83.
80 *Foulke*, p. 76 and *MGH SrL*, p. 84.
81 *Foulke*, p. 77 and *MGH SrL*, p. 85.
82 *Foulke*, p.77 and *MGH SrL*, p. 85.
83 *Foulke*, p. 81 and *MGH SrL*, pp. 87-88.
84 *Foulke*, p. 85 and *MGH SrL*, p. 89.

vague as to what exactly his sources were. In Chapter 18, for instance, 'there are some' who maintain a particular opinion, while in Chapter 30 we are weakly told that 'some affirm'. Within this particular section, it is also noticeable that Paul relies, so far as etymology is concerned, on Isidore of Seville, but his unstated use is limited to discussion on the Italian provinces.[85] Paul's reference to his own witness in Chapter 28 also supports the view that his use of direct references has shifted. He was unable either to associate or use other source material to support his anecdote of the 'cup which … had [been] made of the head [of] king Cunimund'.[86] Paul recorded the use of this extraordinary item by King Ratchis (744-749 and 756-757) 'on a certain festal day' at the start of his lengthy and detailed account of the death of Alboin. The skull-cup formed, for Paul, a crucial element in this story. At the end of the previous book Paul had informed us that Alboin had killed Cunimund in battle and fashioned his (decapitated) head into a 'drinking goblet'.[87] As part of the spoils of victory, he took Cunimund's daughter Rosemunda away and subsequently married her. It was Alboin's insistence 'while he sat in merriment at a banquet at Verona' that Rosemunda drink wine from her father's skull that was the cause of both 'deep anguish' and the desire to revenge her father and murder Alboin, her husband. This is a both a vital and distinctive element in the story that Paul tells us. Unlike his references to Amazons in Book I, Paul did not have any relevant ethnographic sources to either support or explain the skull-cup, and thus was forced to use his own eye-witness as the basis for this feature of the narrative. Overall, however, this small collection of direct references does not shed great light on Paul's construction of the narrative or the influence of particular sources. They have, however, in a somewhat limited fashion, shown his intention to fashion a work beyond strict adherence to previous authorities. With this in mind, it is important to gauge his independence in relation to two significant narratives in Book II, which are the stories of Narses and the tale of Alboin's murder, the treatment of which will allow a better understanding of how Paul used his source material. It will be argued that for these two crucial narratives there is significance in how he presented and positioned the stories of Narses with Alboin and the Lombards.

85 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum*, libri xx, IX.2.95, http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/toc.aspx, and Throop, *Isidore of Seville's Etymologies* (un-paginated).

86 *Foulke*, p. 81 and *MGH SrL*, p. 87.

87 *Foulke*, p. 51 and *MGH SrL*, p. 69.

There are seven chapters that deal with Narses in Book II. These commence with Narses's use of Lombards as mercenaries in Chapter 1 and conclude with his death and the removal of his corpse to Constantinople in Chapter 11. Paul describes the victories of Narses over the Frankish/Alamannic dukes Buccelin, Amingus, and Leuthar, the revolt and execution of Sinduald, and the complaints of the Romans, which prompted both the dismissal of Narses and his revenge. Both western and eastern sources deal with these events, but Paul's approach appears to be distinctive. The first chapter illustrates the difficulties of pinpointing exactly Paul's use of sources. This deals with the assistance of the Lombards during the final stages of the Gothic war in Italy. The central notice is as follows:

> *Tunc Alboin electam e suis manum direxit, qui Romanis adversum Getas suffragium ferrent … quibus usque ad internitionem pariter cum Totila suo rege deletis, honorati multis muneribus victores ad propria remearunt.* Then Alboin sent a chosen band of his to give support to the Romans against the Goths … and when these (i.e. the Goths) were reduced to utter destruction, together with Totila, their king, the Langobards returned as victors honoured with many gifts to their own country.[88]

Foulke suggested that it originated from either Jordanes or an unspecified 'annalistic source'.[89] Jordanes, however, provides no mention of Narses and the Lombard 'chosen-band' in either the *Getica* or the *Romana*, save for the briefest of reference to the role of the Lombards as Roman allies.[90] Extant sources such as the chronicle of Marius of Avenches (532-596) or the pertinent papal biography in the *Liber Pontificalis*, whilst containing notices on both Narses and the Lombards at separate points, make no mention of Lombard assistance to Narses.[91] There is however, one extant source that may provide the answer. This is Procopius's *Wars*, a narrative (in Greek) that refers directly to the unruly behaviour of the Lombards whilst in Italy. Procopius reported that:

88 *MGH SrL*, p. 72 and *Foulke*, p. 389.

89 Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, p. 389.

90 Mommsen (ed.), *MGH: Iordanis: Romana et Getica*, p. 52.

91 Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, pp. 58-61 (p.60 in particular), and Mommsen (ed.), *MGH: Chronica Minora*, pp. 236-237. Callendar-Murray, *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul*, p. 104. Agathias is not the source because he commences with the accession of Teias as the Ostrogothic king. Frendo, *Agathias*.

> … first of all he (i.e. Narses) was eager to be rid of the outrageous behaviour of the Lombards, under his command, for in addition to the general lawlessness of their conduct, they kept setting fire to whatever buildings that they chanced upon and violating by force the women who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries. He accordingly propitiated them by a large gift of money and so released them to go to their homes commanding Valerian and Domianus … to escort them on the march … so that they might harm no one on the return journey.[92]

Rather than present the Lombards as honourable allies, Procopius suggested that the gifts were no more than a bribe to remove a dangerous ally. From a simple textual comparison it would seem that Paul either did not know of or use Procopius in the formulation of this passage. Indeed, Bullough suggested that 'Procopius … would have been invaluable', but 'was literally a closed book to him'.[93] The evidence for Paul's knowledge of Greek is somewhat unhelpful. In the poetry duel between Paul and Peter of Pisa, Paul is described as, *'Greaca cerneris Homerus'* [In Greek you are an acknowledged Homer].[94] Paul's response was to indicate: *'Gra*[*c*]*iam nescio loquellam'* ([I do not know Greek].[95] More telling, however, was the limited transmission of Procopius' work in the west before the fifteenth century.[96] To underline this further, Procopius and Paul differ in fundamental regards. For Procopius it was Audoin, not Alboin, who selected the 'chosen-band'.[97] Paul noted that it was Alboin. This reference has attracted considerable attention, partly because it has been assumed to rehearse a simple error in that Alboin, despite his father Audoin's continued existence as king, selects the 2,500 men. For Schmidt, for instance, it was 'a careless slip' (*Flüchtigkeitsfehler*).[98] It may, however, represent an example of lost

92 Dewing, *Procopius: History of the Wars, books VII.36-VIII*, pp. 389-391.

93 Bullough, *Ethnic History*, p. 94.

94 Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 84-85. Peter emphasises Paul's Greek ability throughout the poem.

95 Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 86-87 and *MGH SrL*, p. 18.

96 For Procopius in the west see Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, p. ix; Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter*, p. 136 re: Paul's Greek knowledge; Rapp, *Hagiography and Monastic Literature* in *Cristianità d'Occidente*, pp. 1221-1281 re: monastic environments; Billanovich and Ferrari, *La trasmissione dei testi in Italia nord-occidentale*, pp. 303-356, Cavallo, *La trasmissione dei testi nell'area beneventano-cassinese*, pp. 357-424 and Irigoin, *La Culture Grecque*, pp. 425-456 in *La Cultura Antica nell'Occidente Latino dal VII all'XI secolo* (Spoleto, 1975); and Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 319 re: Photius' *Myriobiblion*.

97 Dewing, *Procopius*, p. 331.

98 Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte der Langobarden*, p. 29.

material that Paul had accessed. Capo has suggested that this statement may depend upon a genuine Lombard tradition which associated Alboin with the selection of the warriors.[99] In this instance, it is not possible to be certain of the origins of Paul's remarks, but it is clear that derogatory remarks associated with Alboin were not to Paul's liking. Better instead to associate Alboin with both imperial success over the Ostrogoths generally, and more particularly with Narses. In this fashion, Paul implied that as longstanding allies of the empire, their subsequent return to Italy was no more than the culmination of a friendship sustained over a number of decades. It is not possible to ascribe particular sources to Paul's first notice of Narses and subsequent references appear to be no easier to identify. In this regard, Mommsen favoured, more generally, a set of eastern annals as Paul's source. He argued that Paul's notices 'could not be well attributed to Secundus in their totality, for the account is given from the Roman viewpoint and most of the events mentioned do not refer to the Lombards. Paul took these from annals of the Eastern Empire'.[100] Since the work of Secundus only survives in fragments and there is no trace of these eastern annals today, this can only represent at best an unproven hypothesis. It is not axiomatic, in any case, that Paul had to use one source to the exclusion of all others, be that western or eastern. Unlike Lombard assistance in Italy, the condition of Italy, the defeat of the Goths, and the death of Narses were all matters either touched upon or dealt with in a number of sources that Paul may have used. Paul's notices are, however, distinctive. The details of where Leuthar died and the description of Sinduald, uniquely as King of the *Brenti,* and his association with Odovacar, are all peculiar to Paul.[101] These elements may betray his use of a northern Italian source. An attractive candidate would be the now lost *Historiola* of Secundus of Non, but it is impossible to ascertain his use of Secundus because, as noted above, his work does not survive beyond fragments.[102]

More certain was Paul's use of the *Liber Pontificalis,* from which important details are reproduced in part from the entry on Pope John III (561-574). Here, Sinduald's rebellion is placed before Frankish intervention (unlike Paul's account) and only Amingus and Buccelinus are mentioned

99 Capo, p. 423.

100 Mommsen, *Die Quellen*, pp. 82-83. Foulke's translation, Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, p. 378.

101 *MGH SrL*, p. 73 and *Foulke*, p. 55.

102 Capo suggests the notice re: Sinduald may depend upon Secundus, whereas material with reference to Leuthar is less likely, Capo, pp. 425-426.

as the Frankish leaders who were 'killed by Narses'.[103] Apart from these differences, it is in the dramatic details of the downfall of Narses that one can see the closest affinities to Paul's account. First, he noted the complaints of the Romans to Constantinople and secondly the response of Narses.[104] He recorded that:

> *Expedierat Romanis Gothis potius servire quam Grecis, ubi Narsis eunuchus imperat et nos servitio premit; et haec noster piisimus princeps ignorat. Aut libera nos de manu eius, aut certe et civitatem Romanam et nosmet ipsos gentibus tradimus.*
> It would be better for the Romans to serve the Goths rather than the Greeks wherever the eunuch Narses rules and oppresses us with bondage and of these things our most devout emperor is ignorant: Either free us from his hand or surely we will surrender the city of Rome and ourselves to the peoples.[105]

The response is nearly word for word exactly the same as in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Paul reports that: *'Cumque hoc Narsis audisset, heac breviter retulit verba "Si male feci cum Romanis, male inveniam"'* ['When Narses heard this he answered briefly these words: "If I have acted badly with the Romans, it will go hard with me"'].[106] Whereas the wording in the *Liber Pontificalis* is: *'Quo audito Narsis dixit, "Si male feci Romanis, male inveniam"'*.[107] Both works recount that Narses was placed in a lead coffin and sent back to Constantinople with his riches. The similarity between the two works clearly points to Paul's usage of the *Liber Pontificalis,* but there remains significant variation that would suggest he possessed other material whose details point to a possible north Italian provenance.

Overall Paul's use of his source materials on Narses demonstrates a desire to produce an independent and distinctive narrative. In particular, he associated Narses with both Alboin and the Lombards in a way that favoured the Lombards. His notices, more substantive and detailed than those of

103 Davis, *The Book of the Pontiffs*, pp. 61-62 and *Liber Pontificalis*: http://clt.brepolis.net/eMGH/pages/Toc.aspx, '*Sed auxiliante domino et ipsi a Narsete interfecti sunt*'.
104 Compare Davis, *The Book of the Pontiffs*, p. 62 with *Foulke*, pp. 58-59. See also *MGH SrL*, p. 75 and Capo, p. 428.
105 *MGH SrL*, p. 75 and *Foulke*, p. 59 (amended).
106 *MGH SrL*, p. 75 and *Foulke*, p. 59. Goffart translates this as 'If I have done evil to the Romans, I shall incur/devise evil'. See *Narrators*, p. 390.
107 For the *Liber Pontificalis* see Davis, *The Book of the Pontiffs*, p. 62 and *Liber Pontificalis*: http://clt.brepolis.net/eMGH/pages/Toc.aspx.

either the *Liber Pontificalis* or Gregory of Tours' *DLH,* suggest a careful crafting of his work and a subtle manipulation of his available materials which was more than the simple sum of his sources filtered through a positive Lombard prism. Paul's description of Narses as not only 'a very pious man, a Catholic in religion', but also 'generous to the poor', echoed elements of Alboin's virtues.[108] The unjust reaction of the Romans to Narses allows the narrative to prepare the reader for the definitive occupation of Italy by the Lombards. Thus the legitimate rule of Italy passes from the Romans to Alboin and the Lombards. How, then, did Paul deal with the events of Alboin's murder in a way that deflected negative evaluations of the Lombards presented in other available sources?

Alboin's murder was clearly a pivotal moment in the history of Italy and was recorded in a number of sources. Paul's account was, however, the most detailed and lengthy. It reflects his taste for both anecdote and scandal. The story as Paul narrates it covers three lengthy chapters, just prior to the conclusion of Book II. He describes, as noted above, the actual reason for the plot's commencement was the insistence of Alboin that Rosemunda 'drink merrily with her father' out of his skull.[109] Rosemunda forms a 'plan with Helmichis' who in turn 'persuaded the queen that she ought to admit to this plot Peredeo, who was a very strong man'.[110] Subsequently Paul recounts the elaborate story of Peredeo's entrapment by Rosemunda to join the conspiracy. Thus in Paul's version, Rosemunda contrives the plot, Peredeo advises, and Helmichis undertakes the murder of Alboin. With the deed done, Paul records the failure of Helmichis to attain power and the flight of the conspirators with Albsuinda, Alboin's daughter, and the Lombard treasure to the safety of Ravenna. Chapters 29 and 30 conclude Paul's account with the plot of Longinus, Exarch of Ravenna, to supplant Helmichis and rule all of Italy with Rosemunda. This affords Paul the opportunity to dwell upon, for him, the salutary ends of both Helmichis 'the murderer' and Rosemunda, 'more cruel than any beast.'[111] The un-ravelling and undoing of the conspirators is completed with the tale of the valiant Peredeo's revenge and death. If a comparison is made with other extant sources, it is evident that Paul has spun this matter into a racier story with elements of intrigue, revenge, sex, and death. Not only was his anecdotal report lengthier, but

108 *MGH SrL*, pp. 73-74 and *Foulke*, p. 56. Narses was more likely to have been a 'Monophysite' (i.e. Miaphysite) See Martindale, *Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire: Vol. III*, pp. 912-928.
109 *MGH SrL*, p. 87 and *Foulke*, p. 81.
110 *MGH SrL*, p. 88 and *Foulke*, p. 82.
111 *MGH SrL*, p. 88 and *Foulke*, p. 82.

he also provides a moralistic judgement to the whole story. These elements are missing in extant sources that deal with these events. The report in the *Origo*, often assumed to be Paul's source, is characteristically laconic:

> *Regnavuit Albuin in Italia annos tres et occisus est in Verona in palatio ab Hilmichis et Rosemunda uxore sua per consilium Peritheo. Voluit regnare Hilmichis, et non potuit, quia volebant eum Longobardi occidere.*[112]
> Alboin ruled in Italy for three years and was killed in the palace in Verona by Helmichis and his wife, Rosemunda, by the advice of Peritheo. Helmichis wanted to rule but was not able because the Lombards wanted to kill him.[113]

Elsewhere, contemporary chronicle evidence has a number of slightly different, but significant, emphases on the events. From Spain, John of Biclar (*c.*540-*c.*621) reported:

> *Aluinus Langobardorum rex factione coniugis suae a suis nocte interficitur; thesauri vero eius cum ipsa regina in rei publicae Romanae dicionem obveniunt et Longobardi sine rege et thesauro remansere.*
> Alboin of the Lombards was killed at night by a faction of his own men loyal to his wife. But his treasures, along with the queen herself, came under the dominion of the Roman state and the Lombards found themselves without king or treasure.[114]

Marius of Avenches preferred to suggest that Helmichis was the prime mover in the plot. He is described as the first 'follower of the king' who acts 'with the agreement of the king's wife'.[115] Paul's version does not directly disagree with either the *Origo* or the chroniclers, but the differences are vested in how he has chosen to present the story. The sources considered could have only provided Paul with the basics of the story. There is, clearly, an influence from the *Origo,* but Paul's depiction of the events is much more than a mere paraphrase of that work. Just as we have seen with his notices on Narses, Paul's presentation suggests that he has undertaken more than a mere accumulation of his materials and thereby produced a distinctive

112 Bracciotti, *Origo*, p. 114.
113 For Foulke's translation, see *Foulke*, p. 319.
114 Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, p. 62 and Mommsen, *MGH: Chronica Minora*, p. 213 (s.a. 573).
115 Callender-Murray, *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul*, p. 107 and Mommsen, *MGH Chronica Minora*, p. 238.

narrative. There is purpose in what he has chosen to say and an independent approach to how he elects to present this story. His narrative depicts Alboin as a victim of the plotters and in particular of the revenge of his wife. Each of the main protagonists meets an end and merits a punishment, thus underpinning Paul's favourable picture of Alboin as not only a king of the Lombards, but as the inheritor of Narses as the ruler of Italy. Paul's thematic choices are also echoed in how he set out to structure Book II, which will be considered next.

Book II is not presented in a simple linear fashion. Despite possessing 32 chapters (five more than Book I), it is the shortest book in terms of both total word count and number of lines. As Table xxi above indicates, the vast majority of the book is composed of chapters less than 29 lines. Similarly to Book III, however, Paul's narrative only discusses the events of roughly twenty years. Chronologically, the book 'back-tracks' from the end of Book I to the Gothic wars in Italy. This is roughly fifteen years before Alboin's final victory over the Gepids in 567. The narrative continues from this point to the assassination of Cleph in 574 and the failure to produce an agreed Lombard leader to replace him. At the start of the book, the focus shifts away from the subject at the end of Book I. Thereafter, throughout Book II, Paul continues to use a bi-polar axis. The structure of the book can be delineated as follows:

		Chapter
i	The Victory of Narses	1-5
ii	The Advent of the Lombards	6-9
iii	*Interlude: Gaul in 561, Pope Benedict and Paul of Aquileia*	10
iv	The death of Narses	11
v	Alboin and the Bishop	12
vi	*Interlude: Venantius Fortunatus*	13
vii	Alboin and Venetia	14
viii	*Digression: The Italian Provinces*	15-24
ix	The Murder of Alboin and his Murderers	25-30
x	Cleph and the Dukes	31-32

Goffart had a different structural schemata, but it seems to miss the significance of the last two chapters, the importance of which is not only indicated by their narrative positioning, but also by the context of the information that Paul supplied and, crucially, in how it links into Book III. Goffart's division is as follows:

		Chapter
i	Narses and the Romans	1-5
ii	Alboin's conquest	6-14
iii	Italy and its provinces	(14)15-24
iv	Alboin's conquest concluded	25-27
v	The Tragedy of Alboin, the Lombards and Italy	28-32[116]

Reducing the book into five segments in this fashion obscures both the complexity and the subtlety of Paul's approach, in that it conflates separate sections together. Thus the layering or oscillation in the narrative is rejected in favour of a simple symmetrical model. Additionally, the structural role of both the interludes and the geographical digressions are negated by placing chapters 6-14 and 28-32 together. Finally, the structural significance of the final two chapters is lost. These last chapters describe the short kingship of Cleph and the effects of the *inter-regnum* which followed and contain a number of vital notices about conditions in Italy and their effects on the Italo-Romans. Their position here is important both in the way these chapters sustain and develop the 'meta-narrative' into Book III but also, as we shall see, as a mechanism to contextualise less than positive developments for the Lombards.

The narrative construction enhances the importance and significance of Alboin, not only by its organisation, but also in the splicing of the narrative with concomitant developments in the Roman world. Paul introduced interludes and digressions into the narrative as more than a simple inclination to produce a varied narrative panorama. Thus sections of narrative are layered in terms of content. The start of the book commences with the successes of Narses, but these are divided from the advent of the Lombards by Chapter 10 that discusses the situation in Gaul together with notices regarding the papacy and the patriarchs of Aquileia. After four chapters on the Lombards, Paul returns to conclude his remarks on Narses and his death and burial.[117] Subsequently, Paul continued to vary the narrative between Alboin and new material i.e. Venantius Fortunatus and the geographical excursus on the Italian provinces.[118] The oscillation in the narrative can be simplified as follows: i. Narses – Chapters 1-5; ii. Alboin – Chapters 6-9; iii. Interlude – Chapter 10 (Gaul); iv. Narses – Chapter 11; v. Alboin – Chapter 12; vi. Interlude – Chapter 13 (Venantius Fortunatus); vii. Alboin – Chapter

116 *Narrators*, p. 388.

117 *MGH SrL*, p. 79 and *Foulke*, p. 68.

118 For Goffart, this is the counterpart of his borrowed construct of the 'negative poles' of Book I. See *Narrators*, p. 391.

14; viii. Digression – Chapters 15-24 (Italy); ix. Alboin – Chapters 25-30; and, x. Cleph and the Dukes – Chapters 31-2. Is there purpose in this narrative construction? The variation allowed Paul to manipulate his subject material. In particular, Alboin's portrayal shows enhancements to or features of his development as a ruler now that he has entered Italy. At first the presentation of Alboin in Book II is little different to the war-leader we encountered at the end of Book I. In the sixth chapter of Book II, for instance, he arranged the assistance of Saxons in his invasion of Italy, but as the narrative progresses, so too does Alboin, often as a mirror to a transformation for the Lombards themselves.[119] At the end of this first section on Alboin, we begin to see this transformation. Paul describes the unhindered entrance of the Lombards into *Venetia* and the first delegation of power by Alboin, as he installed Gisulf to 'undertake the government of [the] city and people of *Forum Iulii*'.[120] He remains not so distant from his role as a war-leader with Paul once again emphasising his generosity, but now he wields the more formal powers of delegation and appointment.[121]

With each subsequent notice on Alboin, we see a shift in his role as ruler. The divisions in the structure serve not only to layer the narrative, but also to emphasise these ongoing transformations. Thus Alboin's next recorded activity in Chapter 12 is his first interaction with the Church in Italy. This episode, an encounter with Felix of Treviso, has been described as a 'curious story', but its position in the text, between the notice of the death of Narses and a chapter on Venantius Fortunatus, allows Paul to separate Alboin's military activities in Chapters 9 and 14 from his first interaction with a bishop.[122] He once again records Alboin's 'very generous' (*largissimus*) response and his thoroughly 'Roman' response to the greeting of Felix.[123] The picture has shifted from the generous war-leader of 'chosen-bands' to the munificent king. Paul separates his next notice on Alboin with a digression on Venantius Fortunatus before launching into the lengthy narrative tour of the Italian provinces. The impression Paul has provided in the sequence of these chapters (8, 9, 12, and 14) is not one of dislocation, disorder, and death, but rather an authorised and peaceable takeover from the previous Roman administration.[124]

119 *MGH SrL*, pp. 75-77 and *Foulke*, pp. 61-64. Paul reinforces the Saxon connections referred to at the end of Book I. See Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, p. 113.

120 *MGH SrL*, p. 77-78 and *Foulke*, pp. 64-66.

121 *MGH SrL*, p. 79 and *Foulke*, p. 66.

122 Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, p. 66.

123 *MGH SrL*, p. 79 and *Foulke*, p. 68.

124 Compare with Bede's *Chronicon*. See Mommsen, *MGH: Chronica Minora*, p. 308.

Once Paul has completed the section on Italy, the narrative returns to deal with Alboin. It continues to avoid unpleasant associations with the Lombard king. Thus we are told simply that he 'took *Vincentia* (Vicenza) and Verona and the remaining cities of Venetia' (*Vincentiam, Veronamque et reliquas Venetiae civitates … cepit*).[125] In Chapter 25, Alboin merely 'entered' Milan and 'took all the cities of Liguria'.[126] Even the protracted three year siege of Pavia described in the next chapter is more memorable for the 'great famine' that 'attacked and devastated all Italy' rather than the effect that the military attentions of the Lombards may have had.[127] If there is any doubt that the structure has sought to remodel Alboin, this is dispelled by Paul's final notice. This narrated Alboin's first entry into Pavia. Paul recounts how Alboin's horse had refused to cross the city threshold 'although urged by kicks and afterwards struck by the blows of spears'.[128] One of his retainers reminded Alboin that the city had a 'Christian people', which induced Alboin to alter his vow to put the population to the sword.[129] Immediately, his horse was then able to proceed and he entered the city. Just as the crossing of the Italian threshold by the Lombards was a narrative moment, so too this point when Alboin captures the future Lombard capital. With his protection of the Christians of Pavia, Alboin is transformed into a King of Italy rather than merely a King of the Lombards. Paul recounts how at this juncture, 'the people gather[ed] around him in the palace which king Theodoric had formerly built, began to feel relieved in mind, and after so many miseries were already confident in hope for the future'.[130] Associated with Theodoric the Great, Alboin's transformation in the narrative is now complete.[131]

As we have seen with the discussion of narrative construction through the use of sources, the association of Narses in the narrative allowed juxtaposition between the Lombards and the Byzantine/Roman regime in Italy. Paul's comments on both Narses and the Romans are dispersed throughout Book II before the last two chapters bring the narrative strands together. He uses this device to reflect the opposite trajectory for the Romans to that of the Lombards, from one of triumph to one of failure. The notices can

125 *MGH SrL*, p. 81 and *Foulke*, p. 71.
126 *MGH SrL*, p. 86 and *Foulke*, p. 79.
127 *MGH SrL*, pp. 86-87 and *Foulke*, p. 80.
128 *MGH SrL*, p. 87 and *Foulke*, p. 80.
129 *MGH SrL*, p. 87 and *Foulke*, pp. 80-81.
130 *MGH SrL*, p. 87 and *Foulke*, p. 81.
131 For Theodoric see Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy* and Heather, *Theodoric, King of the Goths*, pp. 145-173.

be delineated as follows: i. Pestilence and the Death of Justinian/Narses seizes Vitalis of *Altinum* (Chapter 4); ii. the Dismissal of Narses (Chapter 5); iii. The death of Narses (Chapter 11); (The Italian Provinces) (Chapters 14-24); iv. The Romans lose courage (Chapter 26); v. The Intrigues of Exarch Longinus (Chapters 29-30); and, vi. Romans destroyed and killed (Chapters 31-32). Chapters 4 and 5 draw a structural line between the successes of Narses and the advent of the Lombards. Paul records, first, the great pestilence whose 'evils happened to the Romans only';[132] secondly, the death of Justinian; thirdly, the seizure of Vitalis of *Altinum* by Narses; and, finally, the dismissal of Narses from power. With the attention of the narrative on these misfortunes, the subsequent chapters switched to the successes of the Lombards. With the next and final notice on Narses in Chapter 11, the interdependent narratives are for the first time merged. The invitation of Narses to the Lombards to 'take possession of Italy, teeming with every sort of riches' acts in the narrative structure as the interstitial point where the strands of narrative combine. This organisation is significant because it provides the context for both the much-discussed comments in the last two chapters and prepares the reader for Book III where once again the narrative possesses a number of inter-related strands.

On a structural level, it may at first glance appear somewhat curious that Paul continued Book II after the death of Alboin and the failures of the conspirators. The placement of the final two chapters at this point has both structural purpose and importance in terms of narrative treatment. It allows Paul to deal with unflattering, even embarrassing material about the Lombards as a postscript to Alboin's rule, to split the ducal regime between Books II and III, but to also present a rather vague and insubstantial picture of the difficulties of this time. The story by this stage has become one of both Lombards and Italo-Romans in Italy. Whilst these two chapters are relatively short, aspects of what Paul has said have attracted considerable comment and debate.[133] The contents have often been taken literally as evidence for taxation policy, land distribution, and the fate of the 'powerful men of the Romans'.[134] Less attention has, however, been paid to the context of the narrative and the positioning of the comments.

Chapter 31 deals with the short tenure of Cleph as king.[135] Paul records that: *'Hic multos Romannorum viros potentes, alios gladiis extinxit, alios ab*

132 *MGH SrL*, p. 74 and *Foulke*, p. 58.

133 *MGH SrL*, pp. 90-91, five and ten lines respectively.

134 *MGH SrL*, p. 90 and *Foulke*, p. 86. For this debate see Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 70-72.

135 Bertolini, *Clefi*, pp. 174-178.

Italia exturbavit' [Of many powerful men of the Romans, some he (i.e. Cleph) killed by the sword and others he expelled from Italy].[136] Subsequently Cleph was 'slain by the sword by a servant of his train'.[137] In the next chapter, Paul indicates that the Lombards: *'per annos decem regem non habentes, sub ducibus fuerunt'* [had no king for ten years but were under dukes].[138] He continues:

> *multi nobilium Romanorum ob cupiditatem interfecti sunt. Reliqui vero per hospites divisi, ut terciam partem suarum frugum Langobardis persolverent, tributarii efficiuntur.*
> ... many of the noble Romans were killed from love of gain and the remainder were divided among their 'guests' and made tributaries, that they should pay the third part of their products to the Lombards.[139]

Finally, Paul describes the sorry condition of Italy under the dukes: *'spoliatis ecclesiis, sacerdotibus interfectis, civitatibus subrutis populisque, qui more segetum excreverant, extinctis ...'* ['the churches were despoiled, the priests killed, the cities overthrown, the people who had grown up like crops, annihilated'].[140] The picture presented is the obverse of Alboin's rule. It is one of danger and decay rather than one of prosperous hope for the future, the note struck by Paul when Alboin enters Pavia.

On a structural level, these comments are distanced both from Alboin and Authari (who first appears in III.16) whose rule was portrayed in a more positive light by Paul. Whilst Paul does not totally efface negative notices regarding Cleph and the time of the dukes, he attempts to limit the impact of what he said. First, he remains relatively vague; secondly, he limits the length of his remarks; and, thirdly, he segments the narrative on the dukes between Books II and III. Both Gasparri and Wickham point out the vagueness of Paul's description. As Wickham remarks, 'they are still not the texts, which can tell us in adequate detail what happened to the Romans, in particular according to what protocols, if any the Lombards organised their settlement and how far the Roman landowning classes survived'.[141]

136 *MGH SrL*, p. 90 and *Foulke*, p. 86 (amended).
137 *MGH SrL*, p. 90 and *Foulke*, p. 86.
138 *MGH SrL*, p. 90 and *Foulke*, p. 86.
139 *MGH SrL*, p. 90 and *Foulke*, pp. 88-91.
140 *MGH SrL*, p. 91 and *Foulke*, p. 93.
141 Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 66. See also Gasparri, *The Aristocracy* in La Rocca (ed.), *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 59-84 (p. 61 in particular) and Innes, *Introduction to Early Medieval Western Europe*, p. 241.

Some commentators have taken the remarks at face value as evidence for 'a profound upheaval of all social relationships'.[142] There is significance, however, in the brevity of his remarks rather than their content. He has said relatively little about these events and what he does say begs more questions than it answers. Paul was unable to present the Lombard presence in Italy as a continuance of the rule of Narses due to subsequent Byzantine opposition in Book III, or to entirely ignore evidence of the considerable dislocations that occurred on the ground at this time due to the content of his sources. Accordingly, he presents the disruptions and violence in such a way as to heighten the positive portrayals of kingship demonstrated by Alboin (earlier in Book II) and of Authari (subsequently in Book III).

To conclude, when one considers the contents of Book II and its structural organisation, it is apparent that the organisation of the material is not simply symmetrical. The matrix of the narrative depicted in the structural grid (see Table xxi above) shows a staged or layered narrative that juxtaposes both the Lombards and Alboin with other narrative threads. Amongst these threads, that of Narses and the Romans is the most significant, merging at the end of the book with the unfortunate developments for Lombard power. In the structural arrangement which divides the ducal regimes between Books II and III, Paul has signalled his intent to manage his sources, so as to avoid negative depictions of his people. With this conclusion at the end of Book II, with the 'world brought back to its ancient silence', both the work and the narrative structure was prepared for the complex, shifting, and multi-faceted geo-political kaleidoscope that becomes Paul's narrative world in Book III.

Book III 'Authari is Wont to Strike Such a Blow': Lombards, Romans and Franks

Early in Book III, Paul notes that Hospitius of Nice, 'a man of God', prophesied the arrival of the Lombards into Gaul. 'They (i.e. the Lombards) will lay waste seven cities', he indicates, 'because their wickedness (i.e. that of the cities) has waxed great in the sight of the Lord, for all the people are addicted to perjuries, guilty of thefts, intent upon plunder, ready for murders; the fruit of justice is not in them, tithes are not given, the poor man is not fed, the naked is not clothed, the stranger is not received in hospitality'.[143] This

142 Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy*, p. 94.
143 *MGH SrL*, p. 93 and *Foulke*, pp. 94-95.

presentation of the Lombards as violent invaders at the start of the third book of the *Historia Langobardorum* commences a narrative that sees both the people and their rulers re-modelled, re-fashioned, and renewed. Thus with the installation of Authari as king, halfway through the book, Paul recounts:

> *Erat sane hoc mirabile in regno Langobardorum: nulla erat violentia nullae struebantur insidiae; nemo aliquem iniuste angariabat, nemo spoliabat; non erant furta, non latrocinia; unusquisque quo libebat securus, sine timore pergebat.*
> There was indeed this admirable thing in the kingdom of the *Langobards*. There was no violence, no ambuscades were laid, no one constrained another unjustly, no one took spoils, there were no thefts, no robberies, every one proceeded whither he pleased, safe and without fear.[144]

Book III presents more than just the creation of this paradise of Lombard peace and tranquillity. This is evident in the way in which the book is structured. Bullough emphasised both the 'oddness of structure' and the 'odd proportions' of the whole work, not least Book III, which demonstrates elements of 'oddness' in both respects.[145] This should not be entirely surprising. The narrative is not a straightforward narrow one, but it is not, itself, 'odd'. It should not be reduced simply to an account of the Lombards redeemed and improved.

The third book is the pivot for the whole work. Thus far Paul has developed the story from the legendary origins of the Lombards to their first arrival in the Mediterranean basin in the second book on his way to a depiction in the sixth book as a Christian orthodox *gens*. The picture of the Lombards in Book III is more ambivalent. Thus Paul describes a complex and shifting geo-political panorama. It is in this book that he amply demonstrates what Wickham describes as his 'real literary ability'.[146] Whilst Book III deals with a particular stage in this narrative transit to a *'gens catholicissimus',* it provides further indications of Paul's structural approaches. Again, we see that his penchant for a good story and anecdotal presentations, structural devices that oscillate the prime narrative focus, and a tendency to move

144 *MGH SrL*, p. 101 and *Foulke*, pp. 114-117.
145 Bullough, *Ethnic History and the Carolingians*, pp. 88-89. See also Pohl, *Gregory of Tours and Contemporary Perceptions* in Mitchell and Wood (eds.), *The World of Gregory of Tours*, pp. 131-145, 'Paul had to rely on Gregory for a good deal' at p. 132.
146 Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 2.

towards a re-unification of the narrative mosaic as the book progresses to the end are all evident.

Midway between the pagan and the most catholic Lombards of Liutprand's time (r. 712-744), Book III is both figuratively and structurally halfway through the work. The often confusing and difficult situation in Italy at this time requires Paul to manage a greater narrative complexity. The coherence of the narrative is maintained through an Italian prism, but Paul is not able entirely to obscure negative aspects of the Lombard past in Italy because it is too well known to his audiences. Instead, he tries to minimise the impact through both the structural organisation and a wider context. His framework for Book III details the struggle for hegemony in Italy and the survival of the *gens Langobardorum*. It may appear to be disjointed, even somewhat unsatisfactory, but the narrative history of Lombards and Franks, Byzantium, and Gaul allowed Paul to bridge the contents of Books II and IV.

Despite this level of variance in terms of structure, organisation, and treatment, Book III has attracted little detailed comment on its structural organisation. Goffart indicated that the book does 'not fall into a pattern quite so clear cut' as the first two books. Neither, however, does it possess a chiastic or symmetrical structure as he subsequently suggests.[147] With a book that is as detailed and difficult to evaluate in structural terms as this, the temptation may be to identify patterns and connections that are simply non-existent. However, the work is more than a paratactic and episodic agglomeration of subject matters. It will be argued that Book III represents Paul's mastery of multiple narrative threads. Each are developed and maintained without an excessive emphasis on any one in particular. One could say that Paul does not bludgeon his readers with obvious and artificial interventions. Instead, he marshals his materials through the use of narrative layering that allows a sense of drama and association to occur. In this way, whilst the narrative focus has become again the matter of Italy, the conflicting forces on the ground move the narrative towards a re-unification of focus with the renewal of Lombard kingship under Authari and the turning of a tide in favour of the Lombard *gens* under his successor Agilulf, who sustains the narrative in Book IV. It is, nevertheless, too simple to characterise Book III's contents as either a depiction of the Byzantine empire re-asserting its power or as the inexorable rise and progress of the Lombards at the expense of their opponents. Pivotal to an understanding of Book III is an appreciation of how Paul melded the struggles between Lombards, Franks, and Romans into a history and how he used his sources

147 *Narrators*, p. 395.

to engender the contours of his narrative. As we shall see, both the structure of the text and the use of sources reveal Paul's intents and aims for Book III. In order to tackle these fundamental issues, it will be necessary, first, to describe the shape of Book III; secondly, an analysis of his use of sources will follow with particular emphasis on his use of Gregory of Tours' *DLH* and the lost work of Secundus of Non; and finally, the section will conclude with a discussion of two significant anecdotal passages.

The book commences with the first incursions into Provence by the Lombards around 569-570 and concludes with the assumption of kingship by Agilulf in the spring of 591. Paul's narrative is not a straightforward linear account of Lombard history across these twenty years. He deals with matters at the heart of the Byzantine empire, reports on the Three Chapters controversy, discusses events in Gaul, and welds his often annalistic material together with 'rich … episodes of colour' often of an anecdotal nature'.[148] The variety in the subject field can allow Cingolani to suggest, for instance, that 'Authari represents a fundamental moment for the History', whereas at the same time Goffart has contended that 'Authari is not the true hero, it is the colourless Agilulf'.[149]

The brief chronological parameters of Book III are similar to those of the second book. Otherwise, there are significant differences. In terms of number of chapters, for instance, to number of years discussed, Book III possesses a density in terms of a notional ratio, but also in the actual notices provided, which include a number of rare exact dates.[150] Additionally, Book III is lengthier in terms of word count and far broader in terms of its geographical and subject focus. With the foreground of Book III concentrating on the maelstrom of conflict, chaos, and uncertainty on the ground, the interludes, anecdotes, and digressions introduced into the narrative perform a structural sleight of hand. Paul's narrative strategy employs this device to distract attention from unpalatable (for him) aspects of Lombard religion and governance. It is noteworthy that these unpalatable aspects were given (limited) space in the work when one might expect them to be entirely effaced. However, their presence in the narrative provides Paul with the opportunity to present the transition of the Lombard *gens* and *regnum* to success and fulfilment in the person of Liutprand.

148 Dobiaš-Rožděstvenskaïa, *L'Histoire des Longobards*, p. 82.

149 Cingolani, *Le Storie dei Longobardi*, p. 185. *'Autari rapprasenta un momento fondamentale per la* Historia …'; and *Narrators*, p. 395. Yet subsequently Goffart adds that Authari plays the role of a special character, p. 394.

150 A feature noticeable by its absence elsewhere in the work. The exact dates are 15 May 589, 17 October 589, and 5 September 590.

Accordingly he allows the division of material between Books II and III to maintain an implicit link to the period of ducal rule. He fails to spell out in his narrative that the first eight chapters of Book III have gone back in time to depict events of 569-570. Subsequently the narrative moves forward synchronically with further discussion of later Lombard incursions into Gaul. No mention is made of Alboin or (even) Cleph, and Paul remains essentially silent about the conditions in Italy between 574 and 584. What he does say is somewhat vague and equivocal. It is also significant that Paul was economical, here, with his remarks on religion and the Lombards, though he does recount the conversion of a Lombard warrior by Hospitius of Nice. Finally, his notices on aspects of the murky developments at Authari's court are enigmatic. Overall, his lack of detailed comment at crucial moments is significant and points to his compositional choices as more than mere accident. Whilst there may have been no available sources to hand, the absence of comment is interesting since it also seems to suit Paul's purposes.

The purpose in the structure of Book III has been under-valued in previous commentary. Bullough, for instance, suggested generally that 'Gregory of Tours History of the Franks … helped to determine the form and structure of [Paul's] account of the Lombard past'. Thus Gregory was the major influence on Book III.[151] Gregory was indeed a significant source for Paul throughout Book III, but he did not provide the structural *leitmotif* for Paul's work at this stage, as Bullough suggested. Goffart is clear that there is a division into two sections. He remarks:

> The chapters of *HL* Book III do not fall into a pattern quite so clear-cut as those of *HL* Books I-II, even after the focal point of the plot is determined. The likelihood is that the institution of Authari as king divides the book into two parts; a phase of deteriorating fortune for the Lombards followed by a phase of recovery.[152]

This broad contrast pivots at the installation of Authari in Chapter 16. At this point in the narrative the Lombard kingdom is re-established and a successful defence is organised against both the Franks and the Empire. However, Goffart's interpretation obscures elements within the narrative that confuse this alleged symmetrical dichotomy. Paul's account of Authari's rule, for instance, hints at darker and more difficult currents with the deaths of both Authari and his relative Ansul. Indeed, the narrative depicts the

151 Bullough, *Ethnic History*, p. 97.
152 *Narrators*, p. 395.

confused situation in Italy and the struggle for survival by the Lombards. It is the conflicts between the Lombards, Romans, and Franks that provides the structural underpinning of Book III. The structural division which emerges is shown in the following table:

Table xxviii Structural Organisation of Book III

Chapters	Year	Theme	Conflict
1-5	569-570	Lombards, Franks and Provence	*Lombards v Franks*
6-7	572-575	The Saxons	*Saxons v Franks and Suebi*
8-10	575	Lombards, Franks and Euin of Trent	*Franks v Lombards*
11-13	578-582	The Empire and the Frankish Alliance	None
14	571?	Probinus and Helias of Aquileia	None
15-16	582 and 4	Maurice and Authari	None
17-18	585	Conflicts	*Franks v Lombards, Lombards v Romans*
19	584-588?	Droctulft	None
20	578-579	Pelagius II, Three Chapters and Gregory	None
21-22	587?	Childebert, the Frankish king	None
23-25	589/90-96	Disease, Disaster and Gregory	None
26	587	The Three Chapters.	*Italo-Romans v Romans/Papacy*
27-29	587-588	Conflicts and Peace Sought.	*Lombards v Romans, Franks v Lombards*
30-32	589	Conflicts and Peace Attained	*Franks v Lombards, Franks v Bavarians*
33	569/71-*c.*591	Zotto of Benevento	None
34	590?	The Dream of King Guntramn	None
35	590-591	Authari's death and Agilulf's triumph	None

Whilst this structural organisation can partially substantiate Goffart's view, it also demonstrates that there is an underlying structure which used the alternating conflicts in Book III to bind the narrative into one depiction of struggle and ultimate survival for the Lombards and their kings. Thus Paul has alternated his subject matters with the use of secondary themes such as the Three Chapters' Controversy. On five occasions he returns to the main theme, the conflicts between Franks and Lombards. Rather than representing a 'running joke' in a comedy where the constant interventions of the Franks become a farce, as Goffart suggests, the contents of

Book III depict stages in the crucial success of the Lombard kingdom in both overcoming external threats and ensuring its survival and act as the organisational thread that runs throughout the book.[153] A simplified depiction of the narrative structure would be as follows:

Book III Chapters	Themes
1-4	Conflict i
Saxon Interlude	
8-10	Conflict ii
The Three Chapters part i	
17-18	Conflict iii
The Three Chapters part ii	
28-29	Conflict iv
30-31	Conflict v
Authari's death	

At the same time he has avoided comment on either the religion or governance of the Lombards. Instead he concentrates on external aggression against the Lombards and their ultimate survival. When he does comment on these subjects, he does so without elaboration and allows his readers to make their own inferences. Thus when he mentions the abortive marriage alliance between Authari and the Frankish ruler, Childebert II (575-595), he emphasises that Childebert preferred a Visigothic match in these terms: '*... eo quod gentem illam ad fidem catholicam conversam fuisse cognoverat'* [... because he (i.e. Childebert) had learnt that that nation (i.e. the Visigoths) had been converted to the Catholic faith].[154] The inference here was that the Lombards were not orthodox and therefore less suitable as potential allies. It is, however, a note that Paul does not provide. On the other hand, whilst substantially silent about the Lombards and religion in Book III, he presents notices on the Three Chapters' Controversy in the north of Italy and, in particular, the bungled efforts of the Exarch of Ravenna to enforce compliance with imperial policy.[155] He seems to mix up which protagonists are officially orthodox and which schismatic, but provides enough material to suggest that he has followed at least one source with schismatic sympathies. What he does write appears, as Pohl suggests, to be

153 *Narrators*, p. 396.

154 *MGH SrL*, p. 108 and Foulke, p. 136.

155 See Pohl, *Heresy in Secundus* in Chazelle and Cubitt (eds.), *The Crisis of the Oikoumene*, pp. 243-265.

both 'patchy and ambiguous'.[156] The shifting and complex, and occasionally contradictory and conflicting loyalties, are presented by Paul without comment on the intricacies of the controversy.[157] On the one hand, he refers to a letter of Pope Pelagius II, seeking to resolve the difficulties, as a 'very salutary letter' (*epistulam satis utilem*), which suggests his support for the Papal position.[158] On the other hand, however, Paul refers to Smaragdus, the exarch who attempted to enforce the Three Chapters condemnation, as one who had 'become not unjustly possessed (seized) of a devil' (*a daemonio non inuiste correptus*).[159] The impression conveyed by Paul's remarks is that he remained somewhat unclear about both the theology and the political history of the Three Chapters controversy in the north of Italy. Nevertheless, it forms part of his picture of conflict and struggle depicted throughout Book III.

In what follows, an analysis of Paul's use of both Gregory of Tours and Secundus of Non will show how he adapted his sources to his own purposes. It has been suggested that Book III is thus a straightforward amalgamation of these materials, so much so that Paul merely follows where his material leads rather than setting the narrative agenda himself.[160] As one might expect, this is only a partially correct interpretation. In the first place it is likely that Paul possessed, knew, and used other materials; and, secondly, the characterisation assumes a somewhat unsophisticated 'piracy' on Paul's part of his sources that we have not seen in earlier books. Further difficulties arise from the use that he put to Secundus's *Historiola*, now effectively lost.[161] Paul refers to his sources in Book III on four direct occasions as follows:

156 Pohl, *Heresy in Secundus* in Chazelle and Cubitt (eds.), *The Crisis of the Oikoumene*, p. 243. However, see Herren, who argues that Paul uses his terminology 'consistently'. Herren, *Theological Aspects of the Writings of Paul the Deacon* in Chiesa, pp. 223-235, at p. 232.

157 For the political history of the Three Chapters see Sotinel, *The Three Chapters and the Transformations of Italy*, and Azzara, *Il regno longobardo in Italia e i Tre Capitoli*, in Chazelle and Cubitt (eds.), *The Crisis of the Oikoumene*, pp. 85-120 and 209-222.

158 *MGH SrL*, p. 103 and *Foulke*, p. 122. See also Herren, *Theological Aspects*, p. 231 and Meyvaert, *A Letter of Pelagius II* in Cavadini (ed.), *Gregory the Great*, pp. 94-116.

159 *MGH SrL*, p. 107 and *Foulke*, p. 132. For Smaragdus see Pohl, *Heresy in Secundus*, pp. 253-254.

160 Gardiner, *Paul the Deacon and Secundus of Trento* in Croke and Emmett (eds.), *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, pp. 147-154, '… Paul frequently transcribed whole sections from his sources as for example his use of Gregory of Tours in Book 3' at p. 147. See also Bullough, *Ethnic History*, p. 97.

161 See *MGH SrL*, p. 25 and Leicht, *Paolo Diacono e gli altri scrittori*, in *Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medioevo*, pp. 57-74, at p. 61 and n. 9 re: fragmentary survivals of Secundus. See also, Quaresima, *Il frammento di Secondo da Trento*, pp. 72-76.

i (III.1) … *quae scriptae habentur in libris venerabili viri Gregorii Turonensis episcopi* … [which are written in the books of the reverend man, Gregory Bishop of Tours][162]

ii (III.23) … *sicut et beatus Gregorius post papa scripsit* … [blessed Gregory, afterwards pope also wrote][163]

iii (III.29) … *Mirandum sane est, cur Secundus, qui aliqua de Langobardorum gestis scripsit* [It is truly astonishing why Secundus who wrote a number of things][164]

iv (III.34) … *cuius unum factum satis ammirabile libet nos huic nostra historiae breviter inserere, preasertim cum hoc Francorum historia noverimus minime contineri* … [we may briefly insert in this history of ours, one very remarkable occurrence, especially since we know that it is not at all contained in the *History of the Franks*].[165]

Whilst these direct references are significant, they do not indicate the full extent of his use of sources for Book III. This can be summarised as follows, according to the number of references we can identify: Gregory of Tours: twenty chapters; Secundus of Non: twelve chapters; oral traditons/sources: six chapters; Gregory the Great: four chapters; *Liber Pontificalis:* three chapters; Bede's *Chronicon*: three chapters; epitaph of Droctulft: two chapters; patriarchal catalogue (?): two chapters; *Origo Gentis Langobardorum:* one chapter. There are difficulties with this ordering which are not possible to resolve. Oral traditions or materials, in particular, are impossible to pinpoint with certainty. They may include Paul's account of the fire that followed a flood of the Adige in Verona, Authari's journey to Bavaria and betrothal to Theodelinda, Guntramn's dream, and Agilulf and Theodelinda at Lomello. At the same time, elements of these notices may depend upon sources now lost or may be a combination of both. Bullough suggested that Paul used an episcopal list for Aquileia, but discounted his use of annals from either Milan or Pavia, which dated both the successions and deaths of seventh-century Lombard kings.[166] Bullough noted that 'the possibility

162 *MGH SrL*, p. 93 and *Foulke*, p. 94.

163 *MGH SrL*, p. 104 and *Foulke*, p. 127.

164 *MGH SRL*, p. 112 and *Foulke*, p. 137.

165 *MGH SrL*, p. 112 and *Foulke*, p. 147. See also Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 2, who notes that Paul's reference to the '*History of the Franks*' is one of the first uses of this title for Gregory's work. It has been assumed that the reference here is to Gregory's *Decem Libri Historiarum* rather than to other works such as the *Liber Historiae Francorum*.

166 Bullough, *Ethnic Inheritance*, p. 94 (following Mommsen in respect of the Patriarchal Catalogue).

of a different Northern Italian annalistic text has several times been raised but never resolved'.[167] There could be an unproven link between Paul's notices on the activities of Smaragdus in Ravenna, the Three Chapters' Controversy in the north, and the epitaph of Droctulft but there is no proof independent of the *Historia Langobardorum* which would add any likelihood to the existence of such an annalistic text. The common link with all these notices is that they are not represented in surviving sources. It is a rather unsatisfactory method to assign possible sources on the basis of the information provided and from this to conjure forth an imaginary source. All that can be remarked upon is that there is a likelihood that we do not know the full picture of Paul's materials in Book III and, if we did, his reliance upon Gregory of Tours and Secundus might appear lessened. The significant issue becomes not whether he used Gregory or Secundus but how.[168] With this in mind, let us now look in close detail at his use of Gregory and of Secundus.

Paul used seven of the ten *Libri Historiarum* in Book III. This can be demonstrated; first, by the frequency of material and events from Gaul that Paul provides; secondly, by a simple textual comparison; and thirdly, by direct reference given by Paul (as noted above).[169] The picture, however, is not as simple as this would suggest. Paul's historical enterprise does not neatly dovetail with that of Gregory's. Paul's entire Book III encompasses the period 569/570 to 591, which is dealt with in the last six books of Gregory's *Decem Libri Historiarum*.[170] Identifiable borrowings are itemised in the table below:

167 Bullough, *Ethnic Inheritance*, p. 94. See Leicht, *Paolo Diacono* in *Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medioevo*, p. 67, who maintained that there was a manuscript of either a priest of Pavia or Milan.

168 As Leicht remarks, 'How did he fill the gaps in his History?' Leicht, *Paolo Diacono* in *Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medioevo*, p. 67.

169 See Gardiner, *Secundus*, pp. 141 and 152 and Mommsen, *Die Quellen,* p. 57.

170 The main narrative ends in 591, but there is a datable reference to 594-595 at the end of Book X. See Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 26-27.

Table xxix Paul's use of Gregory of Tours in Book III

***HL* Chapter in Book III**	**Origin in Gregory's *DLH***	**Details**
1	IV.42 and VI.6	Lombard incursions into Gaul
2	VI.6	Hospitius of Nice
3	IV.42	Amatus, Lombards and Burgundians
4	IV.42	Mummulus and the Lombards
5	IV.42	Saxons in Gaul
7	V.15	Saxons and the Suavi
8	IV.44	Lombards in Gaul
10	IV.51 and v.1	Gaul and Euin of Trento
11	IV.40, V.19-30	Justin II
12	V.19-30	Tiberius and Narses' treasure
13	VI.1	Chilperic, Faroald and Gregory the Great
15	VI.30	Tiberius and Maurice
16	VI.42	Childebert and Authari i
21	V.39 and VIII.28	Childebert and Leovigild
22	VIII.28	Childebert and Authari ii
24	X.1	Dragons
28	IX.25	Authari's Diplomacy
29	IX.25	Authari defeats the Franks
31	X.2.3	Frankish invasion
35	X.3	Agilulf's accession

Paul has used Gregory in twenty of the thirty-five chapters in Book III, which suggests a high dependence on Gregory's work for material both indirectly and directly relevant to Lombard Italy.[171] Paul's use can be divided into sections. The first eight chapters deal with two inter-related episodes, Lombard incursions into Gaul, and the departure from Italy of their erstwhile allies, the Saxons. Subsequently, Paul uses Gregory for his remarks on events in the east, for details of Childebert II's rule, and for Authari's diplomacy. There is evidence that Paul borrows and paraphrases Gregory's material but, at the same time, there is evidence for a degree of selectivity that will either add comment absent in Gregory or omit matters included in Gregory's work. The use to which Paul puts Gregory of Tours thus varies across Book III. Two separate sections will illustrate how Paul has used Gregory, how he has read the work, pulling material together, editing sections, and making these coherent for his purposes. These actions demonstrate Paul working as a historian.

171 This does not chime with Gardiner's view. Gardiner, *Secundus*, p. 147.

The first passages of Book III deal with the Lombard incursions into Provence. Paul first describes their encounter with Hospitius of Nice before detailing the military and political facets of the invasion. Thereafter, he records the departure of the Saxons from Italy. These events are recorded in four separate parts of Gregory's work i.e. IV.42, IV.44, V.15, and VI.6. A comparison reveals substantial similarities. Paul's comments begin with material from Gregory's Book VI.6 before using IV.42. By the third chapter, which turns to the Lombard victory over the Burgundians, there is virtually complete symmetry in both the language and details as the following section demonstrates:

DLH IV.42
Tantumque tunc stragem Langobardi feruntur fecisse de Burgundionibus ut non posit colligi numerus occisorum; oneratique praeda, discesserunt iterum in Italiam.
HL III.3
Tantumque tunc stragem Langobardi de Burgundionibus fecerunt, ut non posit colligi numerus occisorum. Ditatique inaestimabili praeda ad Italiam revertuntur.[172]

Subsequently Paul follows Gregory in recording the failure of Amatus, the slaughter of the Burgundians by the Lombards, and their return to Italy with 'incalculable spoils' (*inaestimabili praeda*).[173] Thereafter, with his description of the departure of the Saxons from Italy, the language remains virtually identical:

DLH IV.4
Post haec Saxones, qui cum Langobardis in Italiam venerunt, iterum prorumpunt in Galliis et infra territurium Regensium, id est apud Stablonem villam, castra ponunt, discurentes per villas urbinum vicinarum diripientes praedas, captives abducentes vel etiam cuncta vastantes.
HL III.5
Post haec Saxones cum Langobardis in Italiam venerant in Gallias prorumpunt et intra terretorium Regensem, id est aput Stablonem villam, castra constituunt, discurrentes per villas urbium vicinarum, diripientes praedas, captives abducentes vel etiam cuncta vastantes.[174]

172 Arndt and Krusch, *MGH: Scriptores Merovingicarum: Historiarum Libri X*, p. 175 and *MGH SrL*, p. 94.
173 *MGH SrL*, p. 94 and *Foulke*, p. 96.
174 *MGH SrM*, p. 176; Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 237; *MGH SrL*, p. 94; and *Foulke*, p. 97.

He rehearsed how Mummulus, Guntramn's patrician, dealt with the Saxons as they arrived in Provence and followed their adventures, including the fraudulent use of imitation gold. Finally, Paul used material from *DLH* V.15 to indicate what happened when the Saxons finally reached their original home and encountered the Suavi, who had taken over the lands once occupied by the Saxons.[175] These comparisons reveal that the similarities in the two narratives outweigh the relatively minor differences. That said, one can detect how Paul's focus on the Lombards and Italy has affected what he has chosen to include and what to exclude. Consequently, as Pohl points out, Mummulus is the narrative focus in Gregory's work, but loses this relevance in Paul's material.[176] Thus Paul excludes the biographical details of Mummulus and removes from his account the attributed speech of Mummulus to the Saxons reported by Gregory.[177] Throughout these chapters, however, there are lengthy sections which exhibit both close textual similarities and paraphrasing. The overall impression is that Paul has followed Gregory, but according to his own agenda. It was, as Pohl points out, 'their respective points of view' that mark their differences.[178]

The second section deals with the death of Authari and reveals an apparent dissonance between Gregory's evidence, impeccably close to the events it describes, and Paul's narrative. The *DLH* is a key source for the events of the late sixth century. Whilst Gregory's information on Italy is relatively marginal and subject to some doubt as to its origins, it does have the benefit of this temporal proximity. Towards the end of Book III, Paul recounts Authari's diplomacy that sought to stabilise Lombard power in the face of encirclement represented by the Frankish and imperial alliance. He describes the dispatch of an embassy, first to Guntramn (561-593), who in turns directs the ambassadors to his nephew, Childebert II (575-595). Whilst this embassy is in progress, Authari died 'from poison he ha[d] taken as they relate' (*veneno, ut tradunt, accepto moritur*).[179] A further embassy was sent which failed to acquire a peace from Childebert. Paul moves directly to the selection and installation of Agilulf as king without comment on any conflict that may have arisen. Gregory's account is significant in its difference and is worth repeating in full:

175 *MGH SrL*, p. 95 and *Foulke*, pp. 99-100.
176 Pohl, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 137.
177 *MGH SrM*, p. 177 and Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 238.
178 Pohl, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 137.
179 *Foulke*, p. 149 and *MGH SrL*, p. 113.

> *... Pacifice haec Guntchramnus rex verba suscepit, misitque eos ad nepotem suum Childebertum regem. Dum autem, haec narrata in loco commorarentur venerunt alii, qui mortuum Aptacharium regem nunciantes,* ***Paulumque*** *in locum eis substitutum, eiusmodi verba, quae supra diximus, deferentes.*[180]
>
> ... King Guntramn received this message graciously and sent the envoys on to his nephew King Childebert. However, while they were still at King Childebert's court after delivering their dispatch, other messengers arrived to say that King *Aptachar* (i.e. Authari) was dead and that **Paul** had taken his place.They brought the same protestations of peace which I have set out above.[181]

The account given in the *Historia Langobardorum* makes no mention of a 'Paul' and suggests a seamless transition to the rule of Agilulf. There are nevertheless hints in Paul's narrative that this was not in fact the case. First, Paul records the death of Ansul, a kinsman of Authari, but provides no further detail; secondly, he suggests that the end of Authari was contrived by poison; and, thirdly, he details a relatively elaborate legitimation narrative for Agilulf, both by way of a prophecy and election/selection. Whilst it is attractive to speculate that 'Paul' represented an Italo-Roman reaction or a usurpation of indigenous elements, it is impossible to say on the basis of a name alone and without any further details. Both Capo and Bognetti suggest that this 'Paul' was not an ephemeral phenomenon, but rather a 'minister' who acted in the absence of a formally constituted and installed king.[182] Whether we can trust this information or not from Gregory, the variation between the two accounts demonstrates that Paul did not always follow where Gregory led. The hints in Paul's approach would appear to confirm the insecurities and troubles suggested by Gregory's work.

Both sections illustrate choices that Paul made when using Gregory's work. There are occasions when he remains faithful to the spirit of Gregory's material, but throughout he either edits, reduces, or merges passages. This is particularly evident with the first eight chapters of Book III, which not only condenses the narrative, but re-orders the sequence to provide a greater prominence to the Lombards, even adding a positive 'spin' to their

180 *MGH SrM*, p. 412.

181 Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 551.

182 Capo, p. 490 and Bognetti, *L'Età Longobarda* ,Vol.III, pp. 179-184. 'Paul' was an Italian minister of Authari who helped Theodolinda in '*frangente della morta improvvisa del re*'. Bognetti somewhat speculatively uses a letter of Honorius I (625-638) to a 'Peter, son of Paul', an advisor to Agilulf's son and successor Adaloald (616-626) as evidence of Paul's role and significance.

appearance in Provence. Whilst there is clearly extensive use of the *DLH* in Book III, at the same time there is an independence of approach in how Paul constructs his narrative and how he puts Gregory's work to use. Is it possible to make the same sort of judgement with Paul's use of Secundus of Non?

Despite the existence of only marginal fragments of Secundus, his work retains an important influence on Book III.[183] Paul describes the work himself in a famous passage when expressing surprise that Secundus had apparently neglected to record a Lombard victory:

> *Mirandum sane est, cur Secundus, qui aliqua de Langobardorum gestis scripsit, hanc tantam eorum victoriam praeterierit, cum haec quae praemisimus de Francorum interitum in eorum historia hisdem ipsis pene verbis exarata legantur.*
> And it is truly astonishing why Secundus who wrote a number of things concerning the deeds of the Langobards, should pass over so great a victory of theirs as this, since these things of which we have spoken concerning the destruction of the Franks may be read in their own history, described in almost these very words.[184]

The difficulty with an effective analysis of Paul's use of Secundus is that it depends upon hypothetical foundations. Gardiner suggested that there is a close analogy between the assumed annalistic nature of the work of Secundus and the notices of a similar style throughout Books III and IV of the *HL*. Mommsen had earlier remarked that 'it is mere caprice to equate the *OGL* to legend and Secundus to recent events'.[185] We are left with the significant remark of Paul on Secundus who, we are told *'... usque ad sua tempora succintam de Langobardorum gestis conposuit historiam'* [... (he) composed a brief history of the deeds of the Langobards up to his time].[186] As Gardiner notes, this 'ambiguous phrase gives little idea of the type of work which Secundus actually wrote'.[187] Neither the description of the work

183 *Narrators*, p. 381. *MGH SrL*, p. 25, which rehearses a fragment. See also Leicht, *Paolo Diacono* in *Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medioevo*, pp. 61-62; and Quaresima, *Il frammento di Secondo da Trento*, pp. 72-76. There are twelve lines, but Quaresima suggests that they relate to '*un'altra opera di Secondo di cui nessuna notizia si ha*'.

184 *MGH SrL*, p. 108 and *Foulke*, p. 137 (amended). The assumption here has been that the History referred to is that of Gregory of Tours.

185 Foulke's translation. Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, p. 341. *'Es ist reine willkur ... die Nachtrichen, welche einen sagenhaften charakter tragen die Origo, die als zeitgenossiche Aufzeichnungen sich charakterischenden dem Secundus zu vindiciren*'.

186 *MGH SrL*, p. 133 and *Foulke*, p. 189.

187 Gardiner, *Secundus*, p. 147.

as '*succintus*' i.e. short, concise, or succinct, nor the further remark that the work treats *'aliqua de Langobardorum gestis'* i.e. a number of things concerning the deeds of the Lombards, can penetrate this uncertainty. At least, however, Paul's later remark in IV.40, recording the death of Secundus, suggests that the work concluded just prior to the death of the latter, around the year 612.[188] Further, the fragment of his work that does survive seems to suggest that Secundus had more than a cursory interest in exact chronology.[189] It is this supposed exactness with regard to Secundus that has allowed commentators to believe that the rare presence of an exact date in Paul's narrative demonstrates a clear reliance on the *Historiola*. Moreover, if one also considers certain subject matters based on their geographical *locus* or content, then the possible full, list of Paul's reliance on Secundus for Book III would appear as follows:

Table xxx Paul's Use of Secundus of Non in Book III

HL Book III Chapters	Subject	Basis of Conjecture
9	Surrender of Narses, defeat of Ragilo and Euin's victory	Geography
13	Faroald of Spoleto's capture of Classe	Annalistic quality
14	Death of Probinus of Aquileia	Annalistic quality
18	Authari's attack on Brescello	Annalistic quality
20	Pelagius II's letter to Elias of Aquileia	Involvement of Secundus
22	Frankish/Alamannic quarrels undermine invasion	Geography/Local details
23	Lightning and Fire in Verona	Chronology and Weather
26	Three Chapters	Secundus' involvement
27	Euin invades Istria, siege of Comacina	Geography/Annalistic quality
30	Authari's marriage alliance	Exact Chronology
31	Frankish invasion	Geography/Local detail
35	Death of Authari	Exact Chronology

188 Gardiner, *Secundus*, pp. 152-153; Capo, p. 515; Mommsen, *Die Quellen*, pp. 489-510 on Secundus and the *Origo*; and Quaresima, *Il Frammento di Secondo da Trento*, pp. 73-76.

189 *MGH SrL*, p. 25 and Leicht, *Paolo Diacono* in *Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medioevo*, p. 62. Leicht also highlights that the fragment seems to be 'hardly brief or skeletal', but does not question its connection to the *Historiola* of Secundus.

There are three broad categories for the material above which can be summarised as: a) chronology; b) local or annalistic detail and c) geography/personal interest. There is some overlap between these categories. It is clear that they are not entirely diagnostic in terms of a change in style alone, as Gardiner has suggested.[190] Let us look in closer detail at these three categories, so that we may consider the security of the attributions to Secundus.

Whilst the rare use of exact dates is a noticeable feature in both Books III and IV, the attribution of this material to Secundus must remain uncertain. Even if we accept that the small fragment of Secundus highlights a chronological interest in the *Historiola*, it does not necessarily follow that Paul's use of dates must originate from Secundus.[191] Even where one finds an exact date, such as the nuptials of Authari and Theodolinda, there is further abundant material attached that would seem to preclude Secundus as the only source.[192] This is on the basis of the other recognised trait of the *Historiola,* that it was a terse annalistic work. In Book III, annalistic material itself is difficult to either securely identify or to attribute to Secundus. The short Chapter 14, for instance, simply states, without dates, that Helias (571-587) had succeeded to the Patriarchate of Aquileia. Indeed, whilst undoubtedly short, on a balance of probabilities, this notice is more likely to come from a now lost patriarchal catalogue than Secundus.

It is only with material that appears to have a geographical bias associated with parts of northeast Italy that one can be on safer ground. There are four chapters that provide notices closely connected to either Trento or at least to the immediate vicinity of that area. The assumption that has been made previously is that the depth of geographical detail and its intrinsically 'local' flavour must associate these chapters with Secundus. If one takes Chapter 9 as an example, not only does Paul describe the defeat of Ragilo and the subsequent consequences, but also continues to describe the response by Euin in detail. However, as with all the attributions to Secundus that have been suggested, there can only be degrees of likelihood. This particular category, however, remains the most promising in terms of origin.

Goffart notes that 'some chapters (in Book III) look like chronicle whereas others beguile with legend', but that this is an 'incidental consideration'.[193]

190 Gardiner, *Secundus*, p.147, though his comments concentrate on Book IV.

191 Gardiner, *Secundus*, p. 149, but 'this type of chronological indication (in Paul's work) is a fairly strong sign that we are dealing … with the evidence of a contemporary'. Not necessarily Secundus.

192 *MGH SrL*, p. 110 and Gardiner, *Secundus*, p. 148.

193 *Narrators*, p. 382.

As we have seen, the variance in the narrative can be accounted for by the nature of the original source. In structural terms, however, the use of anecdotes is more than an incidental consideration. Their use can be illustrative of Paul's approach to his material. The nature of these passages is not uniform throughout the work. Those in Book III vary from those depicted previously, most notably in Book I. The impression gained previously has been that the use of anecdotal passages has helped Paul where he has limited materials or latterly where he may wish to draw attention away from unpalatable features. In Book III, as we have seen, he has used the story of Hospitius of Nice as an introduction to both Lombard and Saxon interventions in Provence. Additionally, there is space to discuss the career of Droctulft and the discovery of the treasure of Narses. Clearly, these sorts of passages appeal to Paul as a device to bind his narrative together. A closer look at two such passages will be illustrative of the sort of effect that Paul attempts to achieve. First, his account of Authari's betrothal subterfuge will be considered; and, secondly the dream of Guntramn.

Paul's account of the marriage adventure of Authari follows two short chapters that describe the complex grid of alliances and counter-alliances in the late sixth-century Mediterranean basin. The chapter embarks on a lengthy story of Authari's personal intervention on a mission to secure a Bavarian bride for the Lombard king. With Authari disguised as a member of the ambassadorial entourage, Paul describes the personal encounter that he has with Theodolinda. At this point Paul describes Authari as: *'... iuvenali aetate floridus, statura decens, candide crine perfusus et satis decorus aspectu* [in the blossom of his youth, of becoming stature, covered with blond hair and very comely in appearance].[194] This description emphasises his physical perfection and is reminiscent of earlier comments made of Lamissio and Alboin. On the return to Italy, at the boundary point, Paul tells us that Authari drove a hatchet into a tree with all his strength and declared: *'Talem Authari feritam facere solet'* [Authari is wont to strike such a blow].[195]

The chapter concludes with three separate elements: the nuptials of Authari and Theodolinda; a prophecy for Agilulf; and the death of Ansul. This chapter has more significance than would first appear. Goffart suggests that the marriage of Authari was no more than a 'recognition scene' which 'at once allows us to realise that he (i.e. Authari) is no more than a transitory husband'. He concludes that 'death soon claims him'.[196] Both the structural

194 *MGH SrL*, p. 109 and *Foulke*, p. 139.
195 *MGH SrL*, pp. 109-110 and *Foulke*, pp. 139-140.
196 *Narrators*, p. 394.

treatment of Authari and this lengthy anecdote would suggest that Goffart has under-valued the significance of the narrative of Authari. Not only does Paul present this lengthy anecdote, but he also records the successes of Authari in nine separate chapters. Rather than reducing Authari to a character in a comic plot, which would be curious in itself, it is evident that Paul has handled his material to emphasise Authari's importance. He was not only the restorer of the Lombard kingdom, but also a further example of the good kingship that Paul has already presented when dealing with Alboin. His actions in Book III portray him as an effective leader, repulsing invasions, promoting peace, and ultimately achieving an alliance with the Bavarians. This anecdote highlights not only the personal bravery and strength of Authari but also his audacity, in the mould of Alboin, to pursue his own agenda amidst the unfamiliar surroundings of a foreign court. Authari is in many respects similar to Alboin. Like him he is an embodiment of good kingship, but not yet the fullest expression of the ideal that Paul extols later in the work. Yet there is one feature of kingship that Paul remains silent about with respect to Authari, his religion. This gap may help explain the second anecdote in Book III that we shall look at next.

The curious narrative of Guntramn's dream is contained within Chapter 34, which describes Authari's peace overtures to the Franks. Paul reports that Guntramn sent the embassy on to his nephew Childebert II and then adds:

> *Erat autem Gunthramnus iste, de quo diximus rex pacificus et omni bonitate conspicuus. Cuius unum factum satis ammirabile libet nos huic nostrae historiae brevita inserere, praesertim cum hoc Francorum historia noverimus minime contineri.*
> This Guntramn indeed of whom we have spoken was a peaceful king and eminent in every good quality. Of him we may briefly insert in this history of ours one very remarkable occurrence especially since we know that it is not at all contained in the *History of the Franks*.[197]

Guntramn is not a central figure in the *Historia Langobardorum*. In Gregory's work, however, he embodies an important, if often equivocal, picture.[198] More significant than the difference in treatment between the

197 *MGH SrL*, p. 112 and *Foulke*, p. 147. The reference to a '*Francorum historia*' is the earliest (assumed) attestation of this name for Gregory's *Decem Libri Historiarum*. See Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 2., n. 3.
198 *Narrators*, p. 396 and Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 207-208.

two sources is how Paul depicts the good qualities of Guntramn through the use of a dream that associates both Christian kingship and divine approval. In the course of Chapter 34, we are told that Guntramn goes into the woods to hunt where, feeling tired, he falls asleep and has a dream in which he had crossed an iron bridge and discovered *'sub montem quoddam … multos auri pondus'* [under a certain mountain … a great weight of gold].[199] Accordingly, the gold, which amounted to *'inaestimabiles thesauri'* [countless treasures], was dug up and Guntramn used the wealth he had acquired to adorn the shrine of St. Marcellus in Châlon-sur-Saone.[200] Paul's account is entirely original, though it should be pointed out that Gregory of Tours also discusses the use of treasure by Guntramn (and the Byzantine emperor, Tiberius II).[201] This is not the only treasure story in Book III. Paul had previously told of the (re-) discovery of the treasure of Narses and the worthy purposes to which it was put by Tiberius II. In this fashion, Paul has associated good Christian rulership with good fortune. His account of real treasure, i.e. gold, applies a double significance. The treasure here was not only a means to an earthly end, but had also become the embodiment of divine/supernatural approval.[202] The bestowal of treasure in both these instances suggests more than mere good luck. There is significance in how this 'gift' reached both rulers. In a scenario where the recipient has no earthly superior, the exchange is achieved by the act of miraculous discovery, which thus signifies divine approval. Rather than representing a curious anecdote then, the story of Guntramn's dream points the way forward to further developments in Lombard governance and rule that will occupy Paul's attention later in the work. Discussions of both these anecdotal passages demonstrates that they form more than oddities in the structure of the work. They have provided Paul with an opportunity to discuss at length matters that concern him and link into his overall purposes for the work.

Throughout Book III Paul has marshalled his sources, which relate to a wide and often unconnected set of subjects. We have seen how he has created a structure to the book which engages with his sources and uses their material to create his own narrative. His use of sources, his placement of anecdotes at crucial sections of the book's structure, and the way

199 *MGH SrL*, p. 113 and *Foulke*, p. 148 (slightly amended).

200 *MGH SrL*, p. 113 and *Foulke*, p. 148.

201 Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 56. Heinzelmann suggests that Paul's source is Gregory though there is no reference to any dream in Gregory.

202 Reuter, *You can't take it with you* in Tyler (ed.), *Treasure in the Medieval West*, pp. 11-25, at pp. 12-13. Paul's allegorical dream crosses a 'basic distinction between dubious real treasure and valuable metaphorical treasure'.

he selects material all point to a writer who has a conscious plan and a desire to depict the history of the Lombards in a particular way. Authari has restored Lombard power and weathered the storm of Frankish and Byzantine aggression. In the next book Paul's developed narrative strategy in Book III has become a useful model to deal with further intricacies of the next phase of Lombard history in Book IV.

Book IV *Miserorum Rusticorum Sanguis*: Agilulf and Theodolinda

As we saw in the first three books of the *HL,* both the structure and the use of sources by Paul reveals his responses to the history of his *gens*. Paul is neither a naïve compiler of sources joined together in an unprocessed fashion, nor a historian who does not have a particular approach to his people and their kings. He had marshalled his often limited sources in the first three books to create a narrative that highlighted successful Lombard kingship. Agilulf's role in Book IV is the most significant structural feature of the text and will be considered in greater detail below, for it is evident that it is Agilulf, not Grimoald, who is the real saviour of the Lombards in Book IV.[203] Subsequently the theme of the progress of Lombard kingship continues and subordinates other matters as the work moves towards the 'New' Catholic rule of Perctarit and his son Cunincpert, as the Lombard kingdom developed its resources and power to emerge as both orthodox in religion and pre-eminent in terms of authority in Italy.

This particular vision of Lombard Italy in Book IV comprises a number of broad themes. First, and central to the book, is the continued development of Lombard kingship from its consolidation, as we have seen in Book III, with Authari, to its expansion, as we shall see with both Agilulf and Rothari. Secondly, Paul appears to be reticent about the issue of religion and the Lombards. This has become the subject of considerable scholarly debate.[204] It will be argued that there is a purpose to Paul's overall narrative in that he is primarily concerned to present the development of an independent model

203 This was recognised as long ago as 1856. See Salvadori, *Cesare Balbo: Storia d'Italia*, p. 183 re: Agilulf, '*Regnarono insieme e gloriosi venti-cinque anni. Arriani Agilulfo e i longobardi cattolica Teodolinda ella a poco a poco convertì lo speso e gran parte della nazione*.' See also *Narrators*, p. 399.

204 See for instance, Fanning, *Lombard Arianism reconsidered*, pp. 241-258; Bognetti, *S.Maria foris portas di Castelseprio* in *L'età Longobarda*, Vol.III, pp. 13-673; Bullough, *Ethnic Inheritance*, p. 90; and Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 34-36.

of Lombard kingship. In other words, religious issues are subordinated to his concerns and interests of the Lombard kings and the kingdom's development. Thus, whilst the religious proclivities of (for Paul) the wrong persuasion of Christianity are mentioned, the main drive of his narrative presentation remains fixed upon the progress of the Lombard kingdom and its kings. In addition, Paul used his available source materials to 'associate' the Lombard rulers with one of his most admired figures, Pope Gregory the Great, whose interventions demonstrate a connection to both Agilulf and Theodolinda. Again, Goffart's important interpretation of Book IV's structure, which revolves around the centrality of Grimoald, is interesting but illustrative of the difficulties one encounters with projecting a structural *leitmotif* to the work. His idea that the book can be summarised using the Old Testament pattern of 'prosperity-lapse-salvation' has a number of commendable elements, but as this section will demonstrate, will prove to be an over-interpretation of the material at hand.[205]

This section will examine the structural organisation of Book IV and how the principal figures in the book, notably Agilulf and Theodolinda (and to a lesser extent Rothari), are crucial narrative links in the chain that commences with Alboin and concludes with Liutprand. First, the contours of the text will be discussed and the structural importance of Grimoald's role in the book will be assessed; secondly, the issue of source use will be analysed both for occasions when Paul has sufficient materials and when he does not; and finally, the section will conclude with a discussion of the longest prose chapter in the work i.e. IV.37. This chapter is composed of three linked and lengthy digressions and recounts the Avar invasion of Friuli, the subsequent fate of Romilda, mother of the future king Grimoald, her son's escape from slavery and Avar captivity, and the history of Paul's own ancestors and how his great-grandfather attained his own freedom from the Avars.

The period delineated in Book IV is a crucial phase in Paul's narrative of the Lombard consolidation in Italy. There are structural similarities with Book III, in that Paul continues to describe the shifting and complex geo-politics of the Mediterranean basin. However, the focus remains firmly upon events in the Italian peninsula. Out of the 662 lines of Book IV, 428 are devoted to the Lombards, with an additional 23 lines that relate to Italy generally. Thus just over two-thirds of the book concentrates on matters

205 *Narrators*, p. 399.

Italian.[206] More attention is given than previously to the semi-independent dukedoms of Benevento, Friuli, and to a lesser extent to Spoleto, who form the subject of the comment in thirteen of the fifty-one chapters in the book.[207] The main narrative strand concentrates on the *regnum* proper, on the arrangement of peace between the Franks to the north and west, and on the Avars, who Paul tells us have now occupied the Lombards' former lands in Pannonia. With these elements in place, Paul presents Agilulf as obtaining the model of Lombard kingship that he values. Within the first five chapters he rapidly describes first, how Agilulf secures peace with the Franks and the ransoming of Lombard captives;[208] secondly, how he imposes internal order in the *regnum* by executing one Lombard duke for treachery and by defeating, but granting clemency to two further dukes;[209] and finally, to complete the model, he indicates that Agilulf, moved by Theodolinda now: *'*[*rex*] *permotus et catholicam fidem tenuit, et multas possessions ecclesiae Christi largitus est atque episcopos, qui in depressione et abiectione erant ad dignitatis solitae honorem reduxit'* [not only held the Catholic faith but also bestowed many possessions upon the church of Christ and restored to the honour of their dignity bishops who were in a reduced and abject condition].[210] The importance of Agilulf in Book IV is shown in Table xxxi, which shows the treatment of each of the nine kings and two queens in the text:

206 The figures are: Lombards – 428 lines; the Church 115 lines; Byzantium 78 lines; Italy 23 lines; and Gaul 18 lines. Thus 64 percent on the Lombards or 68 percent with Italian matters added. For the purposes of computation composite chapters have been allocated to each section. In terms of chapters this equates to 25 on the Lombards, three on Italy (therefore 28 of the 51), eight on the Church, seven on Byzantium, and five on Gaul or 54 percent of the whole by chapter.

207 The full notices are: Spoleto – IV.16 and 50 (part); Friuli – IV.37, 38, 39, and 50 (part); and Benevento – IV.18, 19, 39, 42, 43, 44, and 46. *Tuscia* (i.e. Tuscany) remains un-referenced, though IV.45 refers to Rothari capturing Luna (now Luni) on the border of modern Liguria and Tuscany (see *Foulke*, p. 199 and *MGH SrL*, p. 135). Prior to the death of Euin of Trento (d. *c*. 595) and the exhaustion of Paul's assumed source, Secundus of Trent/Non's *Historiola* there are also references to Trent[o] in IV.1 and 10, but these end at this early point.

208 *MGH SrL*, p. 116 and *Foulke*, p. 151.

209 *MGH SrL*, p. 117 and *Foulke*, p. 152. For Mimulf of St. Julian (*c*. 575-590), Gaidulf of Bergamo (d. 594?), and Ulfari of Treviso (d. 590) see Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, pp. 59, 55-56, and 63 respectively.

210 *MGH SrL*, p. 118 and *Foulke*, pp. 153-154. See Bullough, *The Career of Columbanus* in Lapidge (ed.) *Columbanus*, pp. 1-28 at p. 24 and Fanning, *Lombard Arianism*, p. 254. Thomas in his 1561 work also notes Theodolinda's crucial role 'beynge made kyng, through his wife's procurement, he became a Christian' (sic): Thomas, *The Historye of Italye*, p. 18 *verso*.

Table xxxi Lombard rulers in Book IV[211]

King	Reign	Chapters	No. of Chapters	No. of lines (by chapter)	Total word count
Agilulf[212] (and Theodolinda)	590/591-616	1,3,4,6,8,9,12,13, 18,20,23,24,25,27, 28,30,32,35,40,41, (+ 5,6,8,9,21,22, 40,41) *	20 (+ 8)	152 (+ 93)	1459 (+ 838) = 2297
Adaloald[213] (and Theodolinda)	616-626	41 (25,27,30)	1 (3)**	12	56
Arioald[214]	626-636	41,42	2	31	33
Rothari	636-652	42,45,47	3	48	428
Rodoald (and Gundeperga)	652-653	47,48 (47)	2 (1)	27	131
Aripert I[215]	653-661	48,51	2	56	50
Godepert	661-662	51	1	50	384
Perctarit (first rule)	661-662	51	1	50	79
Grimoald	662-671	51 (37,43,44,46)	1 (4)**	50	378

Not only the number of chapters, but also the number of lines (by chapter), or more accurately, the total word count, provide an indication of the relative importance that Paul accords to each king (and queen). Clearly, with twenty chapters referring to Agilulf or twenty-eight when combined with Theodolinda, and a total word count of nearly 2300 words, it is evident that Agilulf and his wife form the spine to the narrative of Book IV. Although Paul devotes fewer lines and words to Rothari alone, he is discussed across three chapters, rather than the usual one or two for the other Lombard kings. One factor that must be considered, however, is how the word counts

211 * Incidental notices after death are excluded. ** Figures in brackets here indicate all chapters rather than those which relate to rule as king. References to Adaloald and Grimoald prior to kingship are not included in word counts or number of lines by chapter. Arioald's word count excludes the material on Columbanus and Bobbio (96 words).The material on Rodoald is primarily taken up with the vindication of Gundeperga. Godepert, Perctarit and Grimoald are discussed within chapter.51; the word counts are associated with each of the named kings alone. Godepert's word count excludes the story of the revenge of his dwarf (a further 132 words).

212 O. Bertolini, *Agilulfo,* pp. 389-397.

213 O. Bertolini, *Adaloaldo,* pp. 1226-1227.

214 P. Bertolini, *Arioaldo,* pp. 161-163.

215 P. Bertolini, *Ariperto I,* pp. 194-195.

have been affected by the availability of sources. This will be considered below. Notwithstanding this potential limitation, the concentration on both the period 590/591-616 and on the figures of Agilulf and Theodolinda are interesting elements in the structure of Book IV. Further, it is noticeable that on three separate occasions Paul links comment of Agilulf and Theodolinda with Gregory the Great.[216] This part of Book IV has been described as a 'mass of detail' 'un-paralleled' (in the work) in contrast to the period 616-661, which has been characterised as the 'worst documented in the *History*'.[217] This *caesura*, with the death of Agilulf in 616, would be the best argument for the structural 'fault-line' in the text. Goffart suggested a 'symmetrical arrangement' to Book IV which 'pivots' around the death of Gregory the Great (i.e. in 604). This occurs in Chapter 29 in the text. Thereafter, for Goffart, Grimoald provides a focus of the last half. His structure can be described as Table xxxii depicts:

Table xxxii Goffart's structural organisation of Book IV

Chapters	Theme	Key Figures
1-28	(Lombard) Prosperity	Agilulf, Theodolinda, and Gregory
29	Death of Gregory	Gregory
30-51	(Precipitate) Decline and Salvation	Grimoald

Analysis of the structural contours suggests that the structural organisation is not so straightforward. Setting aside for the moment the questionable nature of Goffart's themes, detailed consideration of the narrative suggests that this perspective does not hold true and that his structural arrangement should be revised. There are three crucial building blocks in the structure that need to be considered; first, the prime focus; secondly, annalistic material, which will demonstrate the inapplicability of Goffart's structure; and thirdly, the anecdotal passages, which have both interesting structural and thematic aspects.

216 Gregory is mentioned in Chapters 5 (with Theodolinda), 8 (with both Agilulf and Theodolinda), 9 (one letter each to Agilulf and Theodolinda), 19 (letter to Arichis I of Benevento), and 29 (his death and humility). This equates to 88 lines in the *MGH SrL* edition or 1075 words; thus in terms of numbers, second only to Agilulf and Theodolinda.

217 Gardiner, *Paul the Deacon and Secundus*, p. 148.

First, in terms of the overall picture of Book IV, over half of the material is devoted to the Lombard kings. Two-thirds of this material relates to Agilulf and Theodolinda. Out of the remaining figures, Paul deals with Rothari in three chapters, whereas all other kings are dealt with in either one or two chapters, amounting as we have seen to small total word counts. On this basis, Grimoald does not demonstrate the structural significance that Goffart attaches to him. He appears first in the text as a young boy in IV.37, subsequently associated with Beneventan events and always with his elder brother, Rodoald, in IV.43, 44, and 46 and finally with his successful coup at the end of the book. For Goffart, the first reference to Grimoald was where 'Paul needed to establish a secondary stream of narrative in the second half'. It is not clear why Paul 'needed' to create such a 'stream'. More problematic than this, Goffart fails to establish that Grimoald is the prime narrative focus of the second half (i.e. after Chapter 29). If one accepts that Paul's organisational *leitmotif* is attached to the development of an independent model of Lombard kingship, then the need for Grimoald to occupy such a structural importance is negated. Even if one were to accept Goffart's structural scheme, it is unclear how one can describe Grimoald's escape from captivity in IV.37 as either 'wondrous beginnings' or 'prodigious destiny'.[218] It is beyond the text and beyond what Paul says to extrapolate from Grimoald's messy escape in the chapter a primordial significance for Grimoald within the whole work. Nor can we follow Goffart in using the contents of IV.37 as evidence that the composition of the work is motivated by a need to create a manual for Paul's contemporary, Grimoald III of Benevento (788-806).[219]

Structural significance and treatment thus point to Agilulf, Theodolinda, and Gregory the Great as the really significant figures in Book IV. These central characters provide the narrative pegs upon which Paul pins his organisational approach. Rather than the structure using the death of Gregory the Great as the *chiasmus* or point of symmetrical juncture, the material on both Agilulf and Theodolinda continues on to Chapter 41. Gregory, whilst important, is not the prime focus of the book. The organisation of the first fifteen chapters is illustrative of this and is depicted in the following table:

218 *Narrators*, p. 404.

219 *Foulke*, pp. 180-183 and pp. 205-208 and *MGH SrL*, pp. 128-132 and 138-139, and *Foulke*, pp. 180-183 and 205-208. Grimoald, as demonstrated in discussion of Book V, is significant as the exemplar of the (im) proper form of Lombard kingship that is supplanted by the 'New' (Catholic) kingship of Perctarit and his son Cunincpert.

Table xxxiii Subject Treatment in Chapters 1-15 of Book IV

Subject	Chapters of Book IV	Number of Chapters in Book IV	Lines
Agilulf	1,2,4,6,8,9,12, and 13	8	71
Theodolinda	5, 6, 8, and 9	4	55
Natural Events	2,4,10,14, and 15	5	26
Gregory the Great	5,8, and 9	3	50
Gaul and the Franks	1,4,11,13, and 15	5	27
Lombard Duchies	1 and 10	2	12
Avars	4,10, and 12	3	17
Bavarians	7 and 10	2	10
Byzantium	4, 8, and 12	3	24

Even these first fifteen chapters, which evidence a considerable variety in terms of subject matter discussed, do not cloak the importance of Agilulf in the structure. Both Agilulf and Theodolinda are mentioned in eight of the fifteen chapters. Moreover, as we have seen and noted above, Gregory is not mentioned without reference to the Lombard rulers.

Secondly, Table xxxiii also reveals that there are a number of distinct subsidiary themes woven into the structure of Book IV. These are: a) the East and the Byzantine Empire; b) the Lombard dukedoms of Benevento, Friuli, and Spoleto; c) Gaul and the Franks;[220] and d) natural phenomena.[221] In some respects, there is a stream of narrative in these first fifteen chapters with a number of unconnected elements listed in the same chapters. This has been long recognised. Mommsen noted it in his discussion of Paul's sources, as does Gardiner in his analysis of Paul's use of Secundus of Trent.[222] If this is accepted, one can see that there is no need for Paul to develop a secondary stream of narrative since a number of narrational threads operate. This variety is noticeable up to the death of Agilulf, but less prevalent thereafter.

Book IV follows closely on from the end of the previous book in terms of subject and uses the consolidation of Lombard kingship as the prime focus. Initially the first four chapters illustrate an annalistic approach, but do not detract from the main focus of the book. Chapter 1 opens with the mission of Agnellus of Trento to Gaul to secure the release of Lombard

220 See Gardiner, *Paul the Deacon and Secundus*, pp. 149-151.

221 See Gardiner, *Paul the Deacon and Secundus*, pp. 148-149 and *Narrators*, pp. 400-401.

222 Mommsen, *Quellen*, p. 73; Gardiner, *Paul the Deacon and Secundus*, p. 147; and Cingolani, *Le Storie dei Longobardi*, p. 187.

captives, but also mentions Euin of Trento.[223] Chapter 2 records a 'severe drought' and concentrates on the locusts that *'segetas vero agrorum exigue contigerunt'* [hardly touched the field crops].[224] The third chapter describes Agilulf's concentration of power before the fourth chapter, which details three separate items: plague in Ravenna, Grado and Istria; the war between the Frankish kings, Childebert and Chilperic; and the 'blood that flowed from the clouds' (*sanguis de nubibus fluxit*).[225] Clearly, Paul has reproduced material from annalistic sources, but even here there remains an organisational *leitmotif* to the structure which focuses on the Lombard kings and kingdom.[226]

The variation in the text then does not undermine the organisational *leitmotif* and a number of key events of Agilulf's rule may be extracted from this section. These may be described as follows: IV. 1-Agilulf secures peace with the Franks; IV.3-Agilulf tackles three rebellious dukes; IV.6-Agilulf secures peace with the Avars; IV.8-His religious policy; IV.13- He agrees a truce with the Exarch; IV.13-He concludes a further peace with the Franks and defeats (another) three rebellious dukes. These six notices across thirteen chapters reveal the model of independent Lombard kingship that Paul values and enunciates most clearly at the very end of Book VI, in his final remarks on Liutprand.[227] Whilst the attributes and actions of Agilulf are merged within chapters in Book IV, they are evident enough. This virtue is expressed through peace with external powers, in particular the Franks and the Avars (but not, interestingly, with Byzantium); secondly, the avowal of the (right) form of Christian orthodoxy; and, thirdly, the maintenance of order and suppression of rebellion within the *regnum,* which are all attributed to Agilulf.

The third structural component is the placement of anecdotal passages. In Book IV there are three separate occasions where Paul interposes lengthy material of this nature. Each digression is interposed at roughly equidistant points in the text. First, a story about Ariulf of Spoleto and St. Savinius (IV.16) represents a rare occasion when Paul discusses Spoletan

223 *MGH SrL*, p. 116 and *Foulke*, p. 151.

224 *MGH SrL*, pp. 116-117 and *Foulke*, pp. 151-152.

225 *MGH SrL*, p. 117 and *Foulke*, pp. 152-153.

226 Gardiner, *Paul the Deacon and Secundus*, p. 147, 'the reader is confronted with a number of chapters outlining the events of the day in terse annalistic entries, looking in fact very much as if they had been excerpted from a chronicle similar to that written by Marius of *Aventicum* ...' (532-596).

227 *MGH SrL*, pp. 185-187 and *Foulke*, pp. 306-308.

events.[228] It is significant that Paul recounts the supernatural assistance of Savinius for a Lombard ruler whom, we are told, had been 'up to this time … a heathen' (… *cum adhuc esset gentilis* …).[229] Secondly, IV.37 divides the second from the third section on Agilulf and Theodolinda. Finally, in IV.50, the penultimate chapter of the book between chapters on Lombard kings and the final dramatic chapter on Grimoald's usurpation, we have a lengthy narrative of Persian conversion to Christianity. These digressions have both a structural and thematic function. In terms of structure, none are entirely germane to the main thrust of the narrative. Both IV.16 and IV.37 precede material on either Benevento or Friuli and divide the narrative into discrete sections, separating the blocks of material on Agilulf and Theodolinda. The third passage, IV.50, separates the chapters on Lombard kings (Chapters 42-49) from the denouement represented by Grimoald's usurpation in IV.51. When the three principal components of the narrative's structure are combined, the following organisation can be identified, as shown in Table xxxiv:

Table xxxiv Book IV Structure

Book IV Chapters	Themes	Chronology	
1-15	Agilulf and Theodolinda i	591-599	
16	Ariulf of Spoleto and St. Savinius		*Digression*
17-19	Benevento	589-591	
20-36	Agilulf and Theodolinda ii	600 (?)-610	
37	Romilda and the Avars, the Escape of Grimoald, and the Ancestors of Paul		*Three Digressions*
38-39	Friuli and Benevento	616?	
40-41	Agilulf and Theodolinda/Adaloald iii	616-626	
42-49	Lombard Kingship and Kingdom	636-662	
50	Persian conversion		*Digression*
51	Grimoald's usurpation	662	

This framework uses a chronological approach that revolves around Agilulf and his successors as Lombard kings, most notably Rothari. Whilst there are secondary streams of narrative within the sections devoted to Agilulf and Theodolinda, this simplified structure has the benefit of a textual foundation which avoids undue disturbance to the book's

228 P. Bertolini, 'Ariulfo', pp. 206-213 and Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, pp. 74-75.
229 *MGH SrL*, p. 121 and *Foulke*, p. 161.

structure. Having identified this structure, we must now return to the question of Paul's use of sources, touched upon above, to consider whether this structure is merely an accidental feature or a direct result of his source availability.

Whilst there was a relative abundance of material for Agilulf's reign, Paul himself admits that there was greater difficulty with the following period. He indicated, so far as Arioald (616-626) was concerned, that 'hardly anything has come to our knowledge' [*De cuius regis gestis ad nostram notitiam aliquid minime pervenit*].[230] This statement is particularly interesting for it highlights an issue of some importance, since it suggests that Paul did not know of Fredegar's material on Arioald. This will be considered in greater detail below. Generally, however, source use in Book IV is illustrative of Paul's careful synthesis of materials and we see this with Paul's own references to materials he had used. He refers in passing, for instance, to Gregory's commentary on Ezekiel as evidence for Agilulf's approach on Rome,[231] ornaments his description of Grimoald with a line from Virgil's *Georgics,*[232] and notes Rothari's Edict and its prologue to mark the passage of time since the arrival of the Lombards in Italy.[233] Additionally, he used his own knowledge of both Monza and Pavia to provide details of features he had himself witnessed.[234] His references are not the full range of materials that can be identified with either certainty or probability. The following table shows the complete picture of sources used in Book IV.

230 *MGH SrL*, pp. 133-134 and *Foulke*, p. 191.

231 *MGH SRL*, p. 118 and *Foulke*, p. 155.

232 *MGH SrL*, p. 133; *Foulke*, p. 182; Virgil, *Georgics* (IV.83) and Capo, p. 512. Paul slightly altered the reference, which reads *'ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant'*. See http://www.theoi.com/Text/VirgilGeorgics2.html#4.

233 *MGH SrL*, p. 134 and *Foulke*, pp. 195-198.

234 *MGH SrL*, p. 124 and *Foulke*, pp. 166-167, *MGH SrL*, p. 134, and *Foulke*, p. 195. See also Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 176 and Arecchi, *Pavia e i Longobardi*, inside cover.

Table xxxv Source Use in Book IV

Source	Number of Chapters	Chapters
Secundus of Non-*Historiola*	13	1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 14, 20, 25, 26?, 28, 30, 31, and 40
Registrum Epistolarum	3	9, 19, and 29 (4 letters)
Origo Gentis Langobardorum	7	3, 6, 41, 42, 45, 47, and 51
Bede- *Chronicon*	2?	29? and 36
Gregory the Great Dialogues	2	5 and 17
Liber Pontificalis	4	8, 29, 32? and 34?
Byzantine material	(at least) 2	49 and 50
Frankish material	(at least) 2	4 and 26
Vita Columbani	1?	41?
Patriarchal Catalogue	1?	33?
Fredegar	1 or 2?	42? 50
Liber Historiae Francorum	1?	4?
Gregory of Tours *DLH*	1	36
Oral Traditions and Personal Witness	(at least) 3	22,42, and 47

Secundus of Non retains an important influence in Book IV and can be linked to passages of either an annalistic nature or notices that relate to the north-east of Italy. But Secundus is not the only source that is used and as the narrative progresses his use and influence shrinks and stops. Three important issues will be considered subsequently relating to Paul's use of sources; first, his manipulation of material from the *Registrum epistolarum*; secondly, whether he knew and used Fredegar's work; and thirdly, his use of oral material.[235]

Paul's use of Gregory the Great's *Registrum epistolarum* is particularly interesting. He uses four separate epistles, two to both Agilulf and Theodolinda in Chapter 9, one to Arichis of Benevento in Chapter 19, and a section of a letter to Sabinian in Chapter 29. As we have seen previously, Paul was no stranger to the works of Gregory. Not only had he composed a short life of the pope, but he had also collated a collection of his letters for his friend, Adalhard of Corbie.[236] Paul's use of Gregory's letters in Book IV is made more intriguing by

235 *MGH SrL*, pp. 119-120 and *Foulke*, pp. 156-158 (*Registrum* IX.42 and 43); *MGH SrL*, pp. 122-123, and *Foulke*, pp. 164-165 (*Registrum* XII.21); and *MGH SrL*, pp. 126-127 and *Foulke*, pp. 172-173.
236 Hartmann (ed.), *Gregorii I Papae: Registrum Epistolarum Tomus* II Libri VIII-XIV, pp. xvi-xix for the *Collectio Pauli*. For Adalhard see, Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's Cousins* and Dobias-Rozdestvensky, *La Main de Paul Diacre*, pp. 129-143.

cross-referencing this material across the *VSGM*, the *Collectio Pauli,* and the *HL*. In practice, it is apparent that Paul used Gregory's letters in different ways across the three works. There is no quotation from the letters in the *VSGM*, though Paul may have paraphrased certain details to populate his text.[237] One might expect a greater convergence between the *Collectio Pauli* and the *HL,* but this is not evident. Only letter V.6 is collated into the *Collectio Pauli*. Some may object that the remaining 52 or 53 letters in the *Collectio* are irrelevant to Paul's purposes in the *HL*. This may be true, but even if it is, we can at least note that Paul had access to a wider range of Gregory's letters than he used in Book IV.

A comparison of the four letters that Paul uses in three separate chapters of Book IV with the texts in the *Registrum Epsitolarum* is illuminating. Three of the four are reproduced entirely.[238] The fourth letter, in IV.29, is roughly the central third of an epistle that Gregory sent in September 594 to Sabinian his *apocrisiarius* in Constantinople. Gregory refers to the consecration of a certain Maximus, events in Dalmatia, and how his letters had been 'publicly torn up' on the orders of Emperor Maurice. Paul used parts of this letter as the central element of his short eulogistic obituary of Gregory. In this obituary, Paul sought to emphasise Gregory's humility.[239] Humility is not, however, the tone that one detects when the whole of the letter is considered. In particular, Gregory observed how he would react to the contempt displayed for the Papacy. He wrote:

> *Mores autem meos bene habes cognitos, quia diu porto; sed si semel deliberavero non portare, contra omnia pericula laetus vado. Unde necesse est cum Dei auxilio periculo succurrere ne cogatur excedendo peccare.*
> You will be well aware of my character, knowing that I would put up with things for a long time, but once I have decided not to put up with things, I am happy to meet all dangers. It is necessary therefore for one to face danger with the help of God, so that one is not forced to sin through excess.[240]

The central third of Gregory's letter, which Paul has reproduced almost exactly, emphasises Gregory's assertion that if he had so wished, he could

237 Tuzzo, *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*, pp. 36-37. Tuzzo notes the uses; none are extensive. See, p.ix, '*Nei confronto delle fonti Paolo Diacono applica generalmente la propria abilità di rielaborate e sunteggiatore, evitando di limitarsi ad un'arida opera di trascrizione …*'

238 IV.9 Agilulf and Theodolinda, IV.19 Arichis of Benevento and IV.29 Pope Sabinian.

239 *MGH SrL*, pp. 126-127 (V.6 = IV.47 in *MGH SrL*); *Foulke*, pp. 172-173; *RE*, pp. 285-287 and Martyn (ed.), *Letters of Gregory the Great*, pp. 326-327.

240 *RE*, p. 286 and Martyn, *Letters of Gregory the Great,* pp. 18-20, 42-7 (for further context), and 326.

have acted and left the Lombards without a 'king, nor dukes, nor counts and would be divided in utmost confusion' (*nec Regem, nec duces, nec comites haberet atque in summa confusione esset divisa*).[241] Paul's comment emphasising Gregory's humility at the end of the chapter fails to convince when its full context is considered. Here we see Paul using his source selectively, rather than simply transcribing *en bloc* material without comment or discourse. Paul's use of Gregory's letters to Agilulf, Theodolinda, and Arichis are significant for different reasons. In these instances Paul copied the entire text of the materials. None of these letters are in the *Collectio Pauli,* which has materials from September 594 to August 595 and then May 599 to July 601.[242] It is not only the manipulation of the content that is significant, but also what the letters say and their structural placement.[243] The repetition of the source, reminiscent of Bede's use of material in the *HEGA,* is an interesting device that allows Paul to link both Agilulf and Theodolinda with Pope Gregory.

The central element in this letter which emphasises the conclusion of a peace begs more questions than it answers. The complex patterns of conflict between the Lombards and the Exarch, and between Agilulf and other Lombards, are distilled into one successful resolution. The difficult and confused set of negotiations that prompted the first truce are absent in Paul's account. One does not, therefore, acquire a perception that the peace obtained was difficult to conclude. Paul contents himself with the observation that:

> *Rex igitur Agilulf, rebus conpositis Ticinum repedavit.* ***Nec multum post,*** *suggerante maxime Theudelinda regina sua coniuge sicut eam beatus papa Gregorius suis epistulis saepius ammonuit cum eodem viro sanctissimo papa Gregorio atque Romanis pacem firmissimam pepigit.*
> King Agilulf then, when matters were arranged, returned to Pavia and **not long afterwards** upon the special suggestion of his wife, Queen Theodolinda, since the blessed Pope Gregory had often thus admonished her in his letters, he concluded a very firm peace with the same most holy man Pope Gregory and Romans.[244]

241 *RE*, p. 287 and Martyn, *Letters of Gregory the Great,* p. 327. There are minor variances e.g. Paul has *'divisa esset'* in the *HL*, *MGH SrL*, p. 127.

242 *Collectio Pauli* = V.6, 8, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 49, 50, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63 XI.36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 1, 2, 9, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 13, 27 II. 6, 9, 10 (IX.218), II. 31, 30, 7, 32, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 IX.147, XI.10 (XI.1).

243 See Higham (*Re-*) *Reading Bede*, p. 112.

244 *MGH SrL*, pp. 118-119 and *Foulke*, p. 155 (amended with additions).

Four or five years of negotiations have been telescoped into a sentence that suggests, by its vagueness, that peace was concluded directly after Agilulf's return to the north. Given that Paul had access to the *Registrum* generally, it is suggestive that he selected the subsequent letters of Gregory to Theodolinda and Agilulf, after the peace had been concluded, to emphasise the role of the Lombard rulers and to obscure the uncertain trajectory of the process.[245]

Paul's references to Agilulf in these letters also avoid the somewhat negative portrayals that exist in what Gregory has to say. Gregory's observations of Agilulf to third parties suggest that he found him difficult to deal with. In a letter to Severus, the rhetor of the Exarch of Ravenna, he discusses the difficulties of on-going peace and Agilulf's demands.[246] Later, and after the peace, in a letter to Ianuarius, bishop of Cagliari, Gregory warns: *'... quod finita hac pace Agilulfus Langobardorum rex pacem non faciat'* [Once this truce is over, Agilulf the king of the Lombards will not make peace].[247] Finally, in a letter to Marinianus, bishop of Ravenna, he suggests that the bishop can visit and avoid any unpleasant difficulties with Ago (i.e. Agilulf) if 'you give him some small present'.[248] It is clear that Paul has selected the letters he has reproduced to enhance the positive connections and associations between Gregory and the Lombard rulers in the north. Thus Theodolinda is praised for her 'true faith' [*fidem rectam*] and enjoined to persuade 'your most excellent husband' [*excellentissimum conuigem vestrum*] so that 'he may not reject the alliance of our Christian republic' [*quatenus christianae rei publicae societatem non rennuat*].[249] Similarly, Agilulf is thanked for his 'prudence and goodness' (*vestram prudentiam et bonitatem*), which has stopped the shedding of the 'blood of the wretched peasants whose labour helps us both' [*miserorum rusticorum sanguis, quorum labor utrisque proficit*].[250] There is no hint that Agilulf may have remained pagan, as suggested by one modern historian, or that Theodolinda

245 Tuzzo, *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*, p.x. suggests that '*è facilmente intuibile che una città come Roma poteva permettergli di reperire agevolmente un cospicuo numero di fonti letterarie ...*' including no doubt the *Registrum*.

246 *RE* (i), pp. 314-315 and Martyn, *Letters of Gregory the Great,* p. 346 (V.34= Norberg, p. 301). This letter did not form part of the *Collectio Pauli*. For further context, see Pohl, *The Empire and the Lombards* in Pohl (ed.), *Kingdoms of the Empire*, pp. 75-133.

247 *RE* (ii), p. 184, Martyn, *Letters of Gregory the Great,* p. 663 (IX.196) (Norberg, p. 752). It is listed as IX.195 in the *Registrum*.

248 *RE* (ii), p. 282 and Martyn, *Letters of Gregory the Great,* p. 755 (XI.21) (Norberg, p. 892).

249 *MGH SRL*, p. 119 and *Foulke,* p. 157.

250 *MGH SrL*, pp. 119-120 and *Foulke*, p. 157.

supported the schismatic churches in the north.[251] With his use of the *Registrum Epistolarum,* we can see that Paul has elected to make choices about the presentation of his materials and how he organises such presentation. With the last ten chapters which we shall consider now, however, Paul had difficulties of a different kind.

With the death of Agilulf, source material for Paul becomes, once again, scarce. He signals this himself by his comment, noted above, that the deeds of Arioald were 'hardly known'.[252] Arioald (Charoald in Fredegar) forms a significant part of two sections of Fredegar's *Chronicle,* which was nearly contemporary to the events of Lombard Italy it depicts. Fredegar has two blocks of material on this period of Lombard Italy.[253] His narrative details intrigues, plots, and murders and emphasises throughout the virtue of 'lovely' [*pulchra*] Gundeperga. In fact, Fredegar's Italian material is comprehensively focused on Gundeperga and the vindication of her virtue under both Arioald and Rothari.[254] This is the sort of lively material that Paul would have been drawn to, but it seems unlikely that he was aware of its details. When the two works are compared directly, the two sources share a general similarity, but do not exhibit textual dependence. This similarity has prompted some comment that Paul used Fredegar.[255] Paul's own presence in the vicinity of Metz and the manuscript history of Fredegar's work add only circumstantial connection between Paul physically and the chronicle.[256] Even the conjuncture between Fredegar's story of Caesura, wife of Anaulf (IV.9), and Paul's similar narrative of Cesura, 'the wife of the king of the Persians', may not suggest, as one might at first think, that Paul had access to a manuscript which contained an incomplete version of the *Chronicle*. Whilst there are two manuscripts of Krusch's group II (of

251 Fanning, *Lombard Arianism*, p. 254. See also Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 34-36, who discusses the letter of Columbanus to Pope Boniface IV (608-615) written on behalf of Agilulf.

252 *MGH SrL*, p. 134 and *Foulke*, p. 191.

253 Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, pp. 41-43 – IV.49-51 on Adaloald's madness and death, Arioald's assumption of power, and treatment of Gundeperga; p. 58-60 – IV.69-71 on Arioald's plot with the 'patrician' Isaac, Rothari's rule, and treatment of Gundeperga.

254 Wallace-Hadrill, *Chronicle,* pp. 41-43 and 59.

255 Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, pp. 320-321, quoting nineteenth century German scholarship e.g. Ludwig Bethmann. He reports that Jacobi suggested that Paul's use was restricted to IV.50 alone, but still 'improbable'. More likely, however, was the use of the same traditions separately. More recently Collins suggests that Paul did not use Fredegar. See Collins, *Fredegar*, pp. 99 and 100-101.

256 Wallace-Hadrill, *Chronicle*, pp. xlvi-lvi.

Fredegar's *Chronicle*), which conclude with this story i.e. IV.9, it is more likely, though un-provable, that this tradition had circulated independently and had reached the two authors separately. Additionally, when one considers that Fredegar's first twelve chapters (of Book IV) have no Italian materials, knowledge of an incomplete version of the *Chronicle* would not have pointed to any subsequent consideration of Lombard history which Paul would have found useful. This could explain the absence of Fredegar's subsequent Italian notices in Paul's work.[257] In the absence of direct textual connection, it is apparent that one cannot positively demonstrate that Paul used Fredegar; thus we can conclude that Paul had no knowledge of the work or the notices on Arioald, Rothari, or Gundeperga.

Paul's access to materials other than Fredegar are demonstrated by his remarks on Rothari. His use of sources, at this point, merits closer attention because it allows us to un-pick Paul's ability to confront, as Pohl puts it, the contradictions (*Widersprüchen*) of the course of Lombard history.[258] The limited nature of his source materials was not the only issue in this instance. Also problematic (for him) was the religious orientation of the kings. This is demonstrated most clearly in respect of Rothari (636-651), who received greater comment from Paul than his immediate predecessors or successors. Paul related of Rothari:

> *Fuit autem viribus fortis iustitiae tramitem sequens, sed tamen fidei christianae non rectam lineam tenens, Arrianae hereseos perfidia maculatus est.* He was brave and strong and followed the path of justice; he did not, however, hold the right line of Christian belief but was stained by the wickedness of the Arian heresy.[259]

Paul's overall assessment of Rothari remains positive despite his heterodox beliefs. Paul emphasises his strong kingship, he notes his compilation of law, his capture of Liguria, and his victory at Scultenna.[260] Paul adds two further

257 *MGH SrL*, p. 137; *Foulke*, pp. 203-205; and Wallace-Hadrill, *Chronicle*, pp. 7-9. Goffart suggests that Paul's account 'almost certainly derived from it'. *Narrators*, p. 402. See Collins, *Fredegar,* pp. 100-101. If Paul had had sight of chapter headings of Fredegar's work (i.e. after IV.13), this would have alerted him to the relevant Italian material; its absence suggests otherwise.

258 Pohl, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 386, '*Der Verlauf der langobardischen Geschichte konfrontierte den Diakon mit einer Reihe von Widersprüchen die eine einheitliche Erzählperspective kaum zuließen*'.

259 *MGH SrL*. p. 134 and *Foulke*, pp. 193-194. The Foulke rendering has been altered from 'infidelity'. Fredegar's comments on Rothari are more detailed, but omit reference to his religious policies. See Wallace-Hadrill, *Chronicle*, pp. 59-60.

260 *MGH SrL*, pp. 134-135 and *Foulke*, pp. 195-200.

notices which serve to mitigate Rothari's Arianism. First, and briefly, he records that the Arian bishop of Pavia, a certain Anastasius, had his seat at St. Eusebius (a church Paul had seen), but had afterwards 'converted to the catholic faith';[261] and, secondly, at greater length he recounts a story that relates to Rothari's tomb.[262] In this, a man 'influenced by wicked cupidity', attempted to open the sepulchre in which the king reposed. John the Baptist, Paul tells us, in whose church and supernatural protection Rothari rested, punished the would-be robber:

> *Cur ausus es corpus istius hominis contingere? Fuerit licet non recte crudens, tamen mihi se commendavit. Quia igitur hoc facere preasumpsistis numquam in meam basilicam deincepsingressum habebis.*
> Why did you dare to touch the body of that man? Although he may not have been of the true faith, yet he has commended himself to me. Because therefore you have presumed to do this thing, you will never hereafter have admission into my church.[263]

His source, in this instance, was an individual who 'saw with his own eyes that very thing done (and) related this to me'.[264] To add further weight to the story, Paul adds the rare assertion: 'I speak the truth in Christ' [*veritatem in Christo loquor*].[265] Even allowing for the indication that the events depicted occurred 'after some time' [*post aliquantum tempus*], the gulf of time between this and Paul's life is considerable.[266] This may explain Paul's need to emphasise the veracity of the report since his assertion of truth at a symbolic moment in the 'dramaturgy of Lombard history' adds further weight to his depiction of an heterodox king.[267] With one crucial element of his model Lombard kingship missing i.e. religious orthodoxy, Paul manipulated his source materials to generate a story that included a divine form of approval for the king and his actions.

Thus far, we have seen that both the structural organisation and source use that Paul has constructed have been marshalled in Book IV to produce a discourse that describes and delineates the progression of Lombard kingship. He has interposed digressions to assist in the creation of this picture

261 *MGH SrL*, p. 134 and *Foulke*, pp. 194-195.
262 *MGH SrL*, p. 136 and *Foulke*, pp. 201-202.
263 *MGH SrL*, p. 136 and *Foulke*, p. 201. See also Capo, pp. 526-527.
264 *MGH SrL*, p. 136 and *Foulke*, p. 201.
265 *MGH SrL*, p. 136 and *Foulke*, p. 201.
266 MGH SrL, p. 136 and *Foulke*, p. 201.
267 Pohl, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 381.

by careful interpolation into the structure of the book at three separate points in the narrative. To conclude this section, it will be useful to analyse Chapter 37 to interrogate further his narrative strategy. This chapter is the longest prose chapter in the work and is of fundamental importance for the history.[268] It is composed of three linked digressions: a) the Avar invasion and Romilda's downfall; b) the escape of the diminutive Grimoald; and c) Paul's ancestors, the return and escape of Lopichis.[269] The context of IV.37 within Book IV does not prepare the reader for the themes that Paul discussed in it. It follows a section on events in the east and is, in turn, followed by a chapter that deals with the further (mis)adventures of Grimoald's elder brothers. Goffart focused on the significance of Grimoald in this 'extraordinary chapter'.[270] He suggests that Romilda is not the 'real centre of gravity', but Grimoald.[271] A close inspection of the chapter would suggest, together with a reading of Grimoald in Book V, that Paul's depiction of the later king is less than entirely positive and more problematic. Whilst 'the threads converge in the final chapter', it is the significance of the material and how it connects to Paul's narrative that is open to argument.[272]

Paul opens the chapter with an Avar invasion into Venetia and recounts how Gisulf of *Forum Iulii*, although endowed with 'indomitable courage' [*forti animositate*], was killed with all his followers.[273] He contrasts Gisulf and Romilda, as husband and wife, describing their four sons and four daughters. One of these sons was Grimoald 'who [was] still in the age of boyhood'.[274] With the Avars now in control, Romilda and her family retreat to the safety of *Forum Iulii* wherein Romilda 'the abominable harlot' [*meretrix nefaria*][275] was 'seized with desire (for the Avar Qaghan) [*concupivit*] and agreed to open the gates should the Qaghan take her in marriage'.[276] Accordingly, the gates were opened to the ruin of all within, who were carried off into captivity. Once back in Pannonia, all those who reached maturity were to be killed by their captors. At this point, Paul introduced the episode that leads to the escape of Grimoald together with his brothers. The

268 Cingolani, *Le Storie*, pp. 188-9 '*è un capitolo di fundamentale importanza per la Historia*'.
269 For Vinay this is an *'affresco in tre tempi'*. Vinay, *Mito*, p. 139. For Capo, p. 511, '*uno dei capolavori di Paolo, costruito su più linee di racconto, unificate dalla tensione commune di una tragedia …*'
270 *Narrators*, p. 404.
271 *Narrators*, p. 404.
272 *Narrators*, p. 399.
273 *MGH SrL*, p. 161 and *Foulke*, pp. 179-180.
274 *MGH SrL*, p. 161 and *Foulke*, p. 180 '*in puerili aetate constitutes'*.
275 *MGH SrL*, p. 168 and *Foulke*, p. 180.
276 *MGH SrL*, p. 161 and *Foulke*, p. 189.

'little lad of elegant form' contrives his own escape by braining an Avar and joins his brothers.[277] Paul returns to the Avar encampment where Romilda, 'the detestable betrayer of her country' is used, abused, and impaled.[278] Finally, the chapter concludes with Paul's account of his own family and its entanglement with the Avar invasion. Lopichis, whom Paul names as his great-grandfather, ultimately escapes from his captors with the aid of a wolf and an old Slav woman and returns to the deserted home of his birth.[279] In the construction of this chapter, Paul has linked three stories. For Goffart, however, 'the lust of Romilda and her gruesome punishment furnish an appropriate distraction', or as he puts it, 'a secondary stream of narrative'.[280] This is problematic. Goffart wished to emphasise the importance of the Grimoald material so that it would agree with his theory on the *Historia*'s function. Doubts must remain when one inspects the text. If one divides the chapter by lines and content it is demonstrable that the material on Grimoald only forms a minor part of the whole. Strictly speaking, out of 119 lines in the chapter, only 21 deal with Grimoald and his escape whereas the familial digression comprises 48 lines in total. The remaining material deals with Gisulf, Romilda, and the Avar invasion. On this reading, it is difficult to argue for the centrality of Grimoald in Book IV, and subsequent material on him in Book V, as we shall see, is problematic at best.[281]

Even if one were to contend that there is a Grimoald saga at the heart of the chapter with additional genealogical information, it is not at all evident how in the construction of the narrative, Grimoald has been either provided with a 'wondrous beginning' or turned into 'a real centre of gravity'.[282] It is important to remember that 'the little lad of elegant form' has an 'abominable harlot' as a mother, and that his father was defeated and killed. Even his brothers emerge somewhat un-heroic in their escape from captivity. There is no textual support for the idea that it is Grimoald who acts as the saviour of the Lombards in Book IV. The main focus and subsequently the real point of fracture in the text is the death of Agilulf in 616. This signals a change in Paul's previously abundant materials. Even so the subsequent kings, Rothari in particular, pave the way for the creation and success of the 'New' Kingship in Book V. If Book III is the pivot of the work, Book IV

277 *MGH SrL*, pp.181-183 and *Foulke*, p. 162, '*puerulus eleganti forma*'.
278 *MGH SrL*, pp.163 and *Foulke*, pp.183-4, '*dira proditrix patriae*.'
279 *MGH SrL*, pp.163-6 and *Foulke*, pp. 184-186.
280 *Narrators*, p. 404.
281 *MGH SrL*, pp. 161-166 and *Foulke*, pp.179-186.
282 *Narrators*, p. 404; Leicht, *Paolo Diacono*, pp. 60-66; Vinay, *Mito*, pp. 139-144; and Gardiner, *Paul the Deacon and Secundus*, p. 152.

represents the tilting point at which the events and developments conspire to render an attractive independent model of Lombard kingship a reality.

The narrational threads converge in the last chapter. These threads, whilst they may at first depict Grimoald's success, cloak the real discourse, which is not the kingship of Grimoald or the alleged 'lapse' of the Lombards, but the triumph over 'old' heterodox Lombard kingship by the 'new' catholic rule of Perctarit and Cunincpert and thus a new religious and political unity. Such unity had been sought by Agilulf and Theodolinda when they had asked through Columbanus, 'as peace comes to the country, peace should quickly come to the faith, that everyone may in turn become one flesh in Christ'.[283] This search for unity and peace will be the theme of Book V.

Book V *'Rebellio et Iniquitatis':* 'Old' and 'New' Lombard Kingship

Book V commences with a 'very pretty story' of the escape of Perctarit from the clutches of Grimoald and concludes with the 'triumph of victory' of Cunincpert over the (anti-)king Alahis on the battlefield of Coronate.[284] For Bognetti this battle represented the final victory of the Catholic dynasty embodied by Perctarit (671-688) and his son Cunincpert (688-700) over 'old' heterodox kingship exemplified by Grimoald.[285] The fifth book of the *HL*, more clearly than previous books, sets out the tensions between these models of kingship, and does this via a narrative that is 'essentially a history of kings' (*essenzialmente una storia di re*).[286] Whereas Wallace-Hadrill contended that for Paul, 'the victory of Catholicism, not the victory of the Lombards is his theme,' Book V demonstrates that in actual fact, it is not only the victory of the Lombard kings over heterodoxy, but also their success over localised power centres and the supremacy of Theodolinda's

283 Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 134-136 and Walker, *Opera Sancti Columbani*, p. 57. The text of the letter is also in Dümmler (ed.), *MGH Epistolae*, p. 177.

284 'A very pretty story and Jacobi cannot find where it came from', anonymous notation to *MGH SrL*, p. 142, in the John Rylands University Library copy, which has glosses in either a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century hand. For the 'triumph of victory' (*triumpho victoriae*) *MGH SrL*, p. 161 and *Foulke*, p. 249. See also Bognetti, *L'età Longobarda*, p. 345.

285 Zanella, *La legittimazione del potere regale*, p. 56.

286 Cammorosano, *'Paolo Diacono e il Problema della Regalità'*, in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli Altomedievale*, p. 102 '*... e l'Historia Langobardorum come tutti sanno è essenzialmente una storia di re ... l'Historia è del tutto refrattoria ad una interpretazione nel senso di una sacralità regia*'.

Catholic dynasty that are the central messages at this point of the work.[287] The tensions between Arian and Catholic, between the central power of the *Regnum* and the local power of the dukes, between the north and the south are all brought to a symbolic crescendo with the final defeat of Alahis by his nemesis Cunincpert in the last dramatic chapters. This marks the further progress towards the final embodiment of independent Lombard power exemplified by Liutprand and eulogised by Paul in Book VI, the progressive strengthening of the unified kingdom over fissiparous tensions and semi-autonomous power centres – notably Friuli and Spoleto – and the defeat and subjugation of internal rebellion. Thus Book V reveals the 'debate with the past' that Pohl describes in his appraisal of the work.[288]

The narrative structure of Book V also reveals the tensions between the themes of the book and the paucity of written sources at Paul's disposal. Central to an evaluation of Book V is both the positioning of the anecdotal and literary passages and the abundant use that Paul made of non-written material. Bullough was also troubled by the difficulty of this problem, which he described as the 'greatest single problem of evaluation'.[289] The employment of these sources is a particularly important feature of Book V wherein substantial parts of the narrative are the only written notices we possess on this period of Lombard Italy.[290] Again the role of Grimoald as the structural linchpin in Book V is a point of debate. As shall be demonstrated, this alleged centrality does not appear to work again, but needs to be considered in an analysis of his somewhat problematic depiction in the work. Subsequently this section will return to the use of sources and discuss the connections between material which originated from oral traditions and the anecdotal set-pieces that Paul creates. Illustrative of this approach will be an analysis of his use of material that describes the intervention of Constans II into Italy and the episodes associated with the triumph of Cunincpert over Alahis.

The structure of Book V remains securely tied to the development of the *Regnum* proper over the 27 years from the accession of Grimoald in 662 to the triumph of Cunincpert in 689. In all, five kings and an emperor are dealt

287 Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West 400-1000*, p. 43. See also Leonardi, 'Paolo Diacono e la civiltà altomedievale' in Cassanelli (ed.) *Paolo Diacono: Storia dei Longobardi*, p. 17.

288 Pohl, *Paulus Diaconus und die Historia Langobardorum*, p. 383. 'The *HL* must not be seen as either an autonomous creation or as shallow image but as a debate with the past'. *'Die HL sollte daher weder als autonome Schöpfung noch als flaches Abbild sondern als Ausseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit'*. See also Capo, p. 540.

289 Bullough, *Ethnic Inheritance*, p. 90.

290 Bullough, *Ethnic Inheritance*, pp. 90-91. See also Corbato, *Paolo Diacono*, p. 20 '*… è luce isolata e per questo tanto più preziosi*'.

with in the book but, as Table xxxvi shows, Paul's treatment concentrates on Grimoald, Perctarit, and Cunincpert, in that order.

Table xxxvi Lombard rulers in Book V (with Emperor Constans II for comparison)

King	Reign	Chapters of Book V	Number of Chapters	Number of lines in the *MGH* edition
Grimoald	662-671	1,2,3,4,5,7,(9), 10,16,19,20,21,(22), (25), 26, 27,28,32, 33	19	254
Garibald	671 (3 months)	33	1	5
Perctarit	671-688	2,3,4,33,34,35,36	8	165
Cunincpert	680/688-700	33,35,36,37,38,40,41	8	182
(Alahis)	688-689	36,37,39,40,41	5	142
(Constans II)	641-668	6,7,8,10,11,12,13	8	105

* Chapters in parentheses signify incidental references in the text.

Whilst Grimoald is mentioned in over twice as many chapters as either Perctarit or Cunincpert, the focus of many of these chapters does not revolve around the king. For instance, Chapters 2, 3, and 4 can be read as a story detailing the successful evasion of Perctarit and the impressive loyalty, bravery, and tenacity of his supporters. Indeed one small remark towards the end of Chapter 2 reveals that Grimoald's apparently successful coup had been both imperfect and challenged when Paul indicates that Perctarit: *'eadem nocte ad Astensem properant civitatem, in qua Perctarit amici manebant et qui adhuc Grimualdo rebelles extabant'* [proceeded that same night to the city of … Asti in which the friends of Perctarit were staying and those who were still rebels against Grimoald].[291] Enumeration of total chapters alone as an indication of the significance of a particular king is, in this instance, a somewhat blunt instrument. Rather better are the number of lines devoted to each of the kings. Using this as a yardstick shows that each of the principal protagonists in Book V were accorded a similar weight. As Table xxxvi sets out, 254 lines are devoted to Grimoald, 182 to Cunincpert, and 165 to Perctarit.[292] Goffart's contention that 'two-thirds of (Book V, counted by lines) are addressed to the nine years of Grimoald's reign' is

291 *MGH SrL*, p. 144 and *Foulke*, p. 213.
292 Alahis with 142 lines and Constans II with 105 lines represent the broad remainder of the text.

palpably incorrect.[293] This has important consequences for the structural organisation of the book, which accordingly looks as the following table depicts:

Table xxxvii Structural arrangement of Book V

Chapters of Book V	Subject
1-5	Grimoald i (or Grimoald fooled and foiled)
6-12	Constans II, the East and the Lombards
13-15	Interlude i
16-25	Friuli, Lupus and the North
26-28	Grimoald ii (or Grimoald's Vengeance and Violence)
29-31	Interlude ii
32-37	Perctarit: The 'Great Peace'
38-41	Cunincpert: 'The Triumph of Victory'

The picture presented in Goffart's analysis is worth considering in greater detail since his is a nearly unique, detailed examination of the structural contours of the work.[294] His suggested structural organisation, depicted in Table xxxviii below, emphasises the importance of Grimoald as a figure. It is, however, at odds with what is written and organised in the book.[295]

293 *Narrators*, p. 407. Nineteen chapters comprise 254 lines, which equates to 46 percent of the whole. If one excludes the passing references, this reduces the chapter total to sixteen and 241 lines or 44 percent. Clearly Grimoald is also not relevant for chapters 34 to 41. The totals are: chapters 1 = 5 lines, 2 = 64 lines, 3 = 34 lines, 4 = 10 lines, 5 = 9 lines, 7 = 17 lines, 9 = 1 line, 10 = 6 lines (Grimoald assists his son), 16 = 5 lines, 19 = 3 lines, 20 = 3 lines, 21 = 11 lines, 22 = 1 line, 25 = 1 line, 26 = 2 lines, 27 = 8 lines, 28 = 4 lines, 31 = 4 lines, and 33 = 10 lines. The total number of lines is therefore 198.

294 Bullough's article has a short discussion of major structural parameters, and refers to but does not expand upon what he terms 'unbalances, omissions and apparent anomalies'. See Bullough, *Ethnic Inheritance*, pp. 89-91. For general structural commentary in Italian historiography see Leonardi, *La Figura di Paolo Diacono* in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli Altomedievale,* pp. 15-17; Capitani, *Paolo Diacono e la Storiografia altomedievale* in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli Altomedievale,* pp. 31-32; and Leonardi, *Paolo Diacono e la civiltà altomedievale* in Cassanelli (ed.) *Paolo Diacono: Storia dei Longobardi*, p. 25 for '*il contrasto Grimoaldo-Perctarit*'.

295 This has been touched upon by Pohl, who comments that 'it was for Paul even harder to face up to a positive valuation of King Grimoald than it had been with Rothari … Grimoald had only won the throne through murder, treachery and usurpation'. Pohl, *Paulus Diaconus*, p. 386. '*Noch schwieriger als bei Rothari war es für Paulus die Positive Werbung des Königs Grimoald durchzuhalten … dabei hatte Grimoald den Thron nur durch Mord, Wortbruch und Usurpation gewonnen*'.

Table xxxviii Goffart's organisation of Book V's structure[296]

Chapters of Book V	Subject
1-5	Grimoald's magnanimity
6-14	Grimoald repels the invading Byzantine emperor Constans II
15-16	Natural events and return to Pavia
17-30	Grimoald's prudent government and death
31-41	Legitimist restoration and civil war

There are few indications in Goffart's analysis of the problematic depiction of Grimoald in Book V, for Paul's representation of Grimoald in the first four chapters is not entirely positive. There is no Christian heroism in his relentless pursuit of the deposed Perctarit. First, as Chapter 2 describes, Grimoald sends ambassadors to the Avars to indicate that they could not have peace with the Lombards if they 'kept Perctarit in (the) kingdom'.[297] An earlier source, the *Vita Sancti Wilfridi* of Stephen (or Eddius Stephanus), composed only 60 years or so after the events depicted in Book V, also recounts Perctarit's sojourn in the Avar kingdom.[298] In this work, Stephen describes how Wilfrid encountered Perctarit on his way to Rome. Perctarit explained to Wilfrid that he will not prevent him from reaching Rome because:

> *Fui aliquando in diebus iuventutis meae exul de patria pulsus, sub pagano quodam rege Hunorum degens, qui iniit mecum foedus in deo suo idolo, ut numquam me inimicis meis prodidisset aut dedisset. Et post spatium temporis venerunt ad regem paganum sermone inimicorum meorum nuntii, promittentes sibi dare sub iureiurando solidorum aureorum modium plenum, si me illis ad internicionem dedisset.*
> I was once an exile in the days of my youth, driven from my fatherland, dwelling with a certain pagan King of the Huns who entered into a

296 *Narrators*, p. 408. Leicht also saw in the *Historia Langobardorum* an '*esaltazione*' of the figure of Grimoald. See Leicht, p. 71. On the other hand, the centrality of Grimoald and his role in the *Historia Langobardorum* as a template for Grimoald III of Benevento is questioned by Capitani. See Capitani, *Paolo Diacono e la Storiografia altomedievale* in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli Altomedievale*, p. 27.

297 *MGH SrL*, p. 142 and *Foulke*, p. 209. '*Si Perctarit in suo regno* (i.e. with the Avar Khaghan) *detineret, cum Langobardis et secum pacem, quam hactenus habuerat, deinceps habere non possit*'.

298 Webb and Farmer (eds.), *The Age of Bede*, p. 10. 'The *Life of Wilfrid* by Eddius Stephanus was composed in about 720'. For Colgrave 'it is highly probable … that the Life was produced within the next ten years – that is to say, before 720'. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, p. x. See also, Capo, p. 534.

> covenant with me before the idol that was his god, to the effect that he would never betray me nor hand me over to my enemies. After some time some messengers came to the heathen king with word from my enemies, promising under oath to give him a bushel full of gold *solidi* if he would hand me over to be slain.[299]

Whilst doubts must remain about both the originality and the reliability of this passage, it does provide an important and distinctive contrast with Paul's remarks that make no mention of Grimoald's attempt to have Perctarit murdered. More significant, however, is the contrast sketched by Paul that depicts a pagan ruler who honours his oaths and Grimoald, a Christian king who, as we shall see, does not.[300]

Paul takes up the story with the decision of Perctarit to return to Italy on the basis that 'he had heard that he (i.e. Grimoald) was very merciful' [*clementissimus*].[301] With his arrival back in Pavia, Grimoald is said to have declared: *'Per eum qui me nasci fecit, postquam in meam fidem ad me venisti nihil in aliquo mali patieris, sed ita te ordinabo, ut decenter vivere possis'* [By him who caused me to be born, since you have come to me trusting me, you will suffer nothing evil in any way but I will provide for you that you can live becomingly].[302] It was not long before Grimoald not only changed his mind, but forgot his oath. Paul suggests that it was at the urging of 'certain wicked flatterers' [*quidam maligni adolatores*], but even so 'incited to the murder of the innocent' (he)'took counsel in what way he might deprive him of life' [... *consiliumque iniit, qualiter eum, quia iam hora tardior erat,in crastino vita privaret* ...].[303] Thereafter, this lengthy chapter rehearses Grimoald's chilling assertion: 'Let that drunkard drink, tomorrow he will spill out the same wine mixed with blood' [*Bibat ebriosus ille; cras enim partier eadem vina mixta cum sanguine refundet*] and how Perctarit, together with Unulf and an un-named *vestiarius,* contrived an escape from Grimoald's attentions.[304] Paul attempts at the end of this section, once Perctarit has escaped and his supporters have joined him in Francia, a positive judgement on the events. He remarks:

299 Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, pp. 56-57.
300 For the similar story, with barrels of gold, of Ebroin (d. 680-681) Frankish *maior-domus* of Neustria, Wilfrid and Adlgisl, see Colgrave, *The Life of Wilfrid*, pp. 52-55.
301 *MGH SrL*, p. 142 and *Foulke*, p. 210.
302 *MGH SrL*, p. 143 and *Foulke*, p. 210.
303 *MGH SrL*, p. 143 and *Foulke*, p. 211.
304 *MGH SrL*, pp. 143-146 and *Foulke*, pp. 211-212. For *Vestiarius* see Niermayer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, p. 1080. Foulke renders this as 'valet'.

> *Sicque Deus omnipotens dispositione misericordiae et innocentem a morte eripuit et regem ex animo bona facere cupientem ab offensione servavit.* Thus God Almighty by this merciful arrangement delivered an innocent man from death (i.e. Perctarit) and kept from offence a king who desired in his heart to do good.[305]

The overall impression of this lengthy anecdote is not one that can be distilled into a simple positive or negative evaluation.[306] It is significant, in the first place, that the contrast between the *verbum regis* of the Avar Qaghan (which is honoured) in Chapter 2 is followed directly by Grimoald's oath in Chapter 3, which is not honoured.[307] The narrative indicates, as noted above, the influence of certain *'maligni adolatores'* (wicked flatterers) and suggests that Grimoald was too *'credulus'*.[308] Significant notices within Book V, however, present a different impression of Grimoald's rulership. Clearly, Grimoald is shown as exercising clemency in allowing Perctarit's servants: Unulf and his *vestiarius* to follow the supplanted king into exile in Francia.[309] Equally significant a theme is the praise of fidelity and prudence [*fide et prudentia*].[310] This is shown on two separate occasions in the text where, incongruously, Grimoald praises the 'fidelity and prudence' of those who wished to remain loyal to Perctarit.[311] Yet, as a usurper, Grimoald is shown not only as influenced by the untrustworthy, but also as directly undermining the quality of his own *verbum regis* as king.

An entirely positive filter on Grimoald throughout Book V is difficult to sustain in light of such passages. Further, Paul recounts Grimoald's brutal destruction of both Forlimpopuli and Oderzo in Chapters 27 and 28. Here he emphasises that:

> *... in ipso sacratissime sabbato paschali super eandem civitatem ea hora qua baptismum fiebat, inopinate inruit, tantamque occisorum stragem*

305 *MGH SrL*, p.144 and *Foulke*, p. 213.
306 See *Narrator s*, p. 409.
307 *MGH SrL*, pp. 142-143 and *Foulke*, pp. 209-211. For *Verbum Regis* in the context of law, see Wormald, *Lex Scripta* and *Verbum Regis* in Sawyer and Wood (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship*, pp. 105-138.
308 *MGH SrL*, p. 143 and *Foulke*, p. 211.
309 Capo suggests that there are corroborative elements in Grimoald's laws that indicate a concern for mercy and clemency on the part of Grimoald. Capo, p. 534.
310 Within the context of the unfolding story of Grimoald's broken oath, Paul also mentions a servant of Perctarit's father that, despite the risk, warned Perctarit of Grimoald's murderous designs. See *MGH SrL*, p. 143 and *Foulke*, p. 211.
311 i.e. V.3 and V.4, *MGH SrL*, p. 145 and *Foulke*, pp. 215-216.

> *fecit, ut etiam diacones ipsos, qui infantulos baptizabant, in ipso sacro fonte perimeret.*
> … he rushed unexpectedly upon that city on the holy Sabbath of Easter itself in the hour when the baptism was occurring and made so great a carnage of men slain that he killed in the sacred font itself even those deacons who were baptizing little infants.[312]

Furthermore, the textual descriptions of the figures who were in contact with or affected by Grimoald present a picture of the fear of his power. Arnefrit, the son of the displaced Lupus *Dux* of Friuli, we are told, feared the 'power of King Grimoald (and) fled into *Carnuntum*'.[313] It is also highly arguable whether Grimoald's use of the Avars as proxies to dispose of Lupus, *dux* of Friuli, is a positive example of the Christian heroism identified by Goffart.[314] Indeed, whilst Paul suggests that Grimoald was 'unwilling to stir up civil war among the Langobards' [*nolens civile bellum inter Langobardos excitare*] by encouraging the Avars to invade Friuli and defeat Lupus, his subsequent remarks demonstrate that Grimoald's plan backfired, with the Avars refusing to return to Pannonia.[315] Accordingly, Grimoald, 'impelled by necessity' [*necessitate conpulsus*], had to set out to expel them and only achieved this by convincing the Avars that his army was immense and powerful.[316] Whilst both this and an earlier ruse that deflected a Frankish incursion without battle show a certain cunning and guile, they do not provide a heroic or quintessentially Christian response to challenges to his rule. Grimoald's role in Book V thus represents a model of kingship that Paul does not favour.[317] Grimoald personifies the last significant Lombard king whose religious policies and position cannot be ascertained, but are usually assumed to be Arian. His rule also represents the success of local power centres at the expense of the *regnum*. With this in mind, Grimoald's structural significance in the text should be revised, so that he has, at best, an equivalent importance to other significant protagonists in Book V.

312 *MGH SrL*, p. 153 and *Foulke*, p. 233

313 *MGH SrL*, p. 152 and *Foulke*, p. 230; Paul also depicts Perctarit 'fearing the power of this Grimoald'. *MGH SrL*, p. 155 and *Foulke*, p. 235.

314 *Narrators*, p. 409.

315 *MGH SrL*, p. 151 and *Foulke*, p. 228.

316 *MGH SrL*, p. 152 and *Foulke*, p. 229.

317 Capo, p. 535, '*Grimoaldo quindi rappresenta una fase di passaggio consapevole ed essenziale verso una diversa concezione della figura regia e dei suoi rapport con la società*'. See also Capitani, *Paolo Diacono e la storiografia Altomedievale* in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli Altomedievale*, pp. 34-35.

With this as a base for further structural consideration, a revision of the material on Constans II can be undertaken, so that it is integrated into the structural organisation of the narrative. Two general structural points and two specific issues related to treatment of the material will allow for a better comprehension of the text. In the first place, the narrative on Constans II represents a block of eight chapters directly after the opening section on Grimoald and directly before discussion of events in Friuli.[318] In some detail, Paul describes Constans wishing to 'pluck Italy out of the hands of the Lombards' [*Italiam a Langobardorum manu eruere capiens*].[319] The appearance of an (eastern) Roman Emperor in the West was of course highly significant.[320] Its structural placement between the first section, which details the escape of Perctarit, and the third section, which describes the death of Lupus of Friuli, demonstrates the inherent insecurities that beset the reign of Grimoald.

Secondly, the treatment of the major protagonists in this section emphasises the thematic importance of this material. Paul does not arrange his comments in any sort of polemical fashion. Constans is described as either *Augustus* or *Imperator* and Grimoald's presence in the text is as a both reactive and secondary figure.[321] Rather than material that simply shows Grimoald in an effective light defeating the final Byzantine attempt to reverse Lombard power in the Italian peninsula, this block of chapters represents a chronological marker whereupon subsequent Byzantine notices in the work are exterior to events in Lombard Italy. The defeat and death of Constans is contrived by his own policies rather than Grimoald's counter-measures alone.

Within these eight chapters there are significant anecdotal elements. These do not appear in the *Liber Pontificalis,* which forms one of the sources for Constans II and his ill-fated expedition to the West.[322] The ultimate

318 See Table xxxvii for details. See also Lamma, *Il mondo bizantino in Paolo Diacono* in *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto Medieovo*, pp. 205-209.

319 *MGH SrL*, p. 146 and *Foulke*, pp. 217-218.

320 The appearance of Constans was the only visit of an Emperor to Rome between 476 and 800. See Lamma, *Il mondo bizantino* in *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto Medieovo*, p. 209; Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, pp. 157-158; and Corsi, *La spedizione italiana di Costante II*.

321 Constans is described as *Augustus* in Chapters 6, 7, and 11 (twice) and *Imperator* in chapters 9, 10, and 11. It is only in the last chapter that refers to Constans and his assassination which refers to his 'iniquities'. Goffart suggests that it is Grimoald who repels the invading emperor, but the text shows that it was his son Romuald who undertook all the resistance to the Byzantine forces.

322 Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs,* pp. 73-74. Bullough suggests that Paul only 'add[ed] to the brief account'. Bullough, *Ethnic Inheritance*, p. 88. Lamma notes that the military fortunes of Constans

failure of Constans represents a liminal moment when tensions between local identities and state politics affected the situation on the ground. It is important that Paul interposes prior to the main activity an encounter between the emperor and a 'certain hermit who was said to have the spirit of prophecy' [*solitarium quondam, qui prophetiae spiritum habere dicebatur*].[323] The prophecy recorded provides a further clue both to the relevance of the chapter and to its analogous quality to Paul's own time. The hermit remarks:

> *Gens Langobardorum superari modo ab aliquo non potest, quia regina quaedam ex alia provincia veniens basilicam beati Iohannis baptistae in Langobardorum finibus construxit, et propter hoc ipse beatus Iohannes pro Langobardorum gente continue intercedit. Veniet autem tempus quando ipsum oraculum habebitur despectui et tunc gens ipsa peribit.*
> The people of the Langobards cannot be overcome in any way because a certain queen coming from another province has built the church of St. John the Baptist in the territories of the Langobards and for this reason, St. John himself continually intercedes for the nation of the Langobards. But a time shall come when this sanctuary will be held in contempt and then the nation itself shall perish.[324]

Paul's subsequent remarks provide a crucial commentary that reveals his perceptions of why the Lombards should prevail in 663, but perish in 774. He concludes that the church of St. John in Monza had, at some unspecified point in time, but presumably at some point just prior to the end of the independent kingdom, been 'bestowed upon the unworthy and adulterous'. Thus the prophecy of the hermit had come true. What Constans could not do, Charlemagne could.[325] Having allowed the 'unworthy' to control the church of Monza, providence had turned away from the Lombards, bringing an end to the kingdom.[326]

in the south were not the sort of material the *LP* was concerned about. Lamma, *Il mondo bizantino* in *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto Medieovo*, p. 207. For Constans II, see Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, pp. 59-61.

323 *MGH SrL*, pp. 146-147 and *Foulke*, p. 218.

324 *MGH SrL*, pp. 146-147 and *Foulke*, p. 219.

325 An early tenth-century gloss to the *Historia Langobardorum* suggested a moral and biblical connection. See Capo, pp. 258-259 (for the full text) and p. 539; and Braccini, *La Glossa Monzese alla Historia Langobardorum* in Chiesa, pp. 427-467. See *MGH SrL*, p. 147. The biblical reference is to Zachariah I, 3.

326 *MGH SrL*, p. 147 and *Foulke*, p. 219. See Bullough, *Ethnic Inheritance*, p. 88. '*Perditio*' was simply translated as 'fall' by Foulke rather than 'ruination', which was preferred by Bullough.

Paul's depiction of Sesuald and Saburrus provides further evidence of how he developed his narrative themes in this particular block of material and within Book V generally. Sesuald is described as the *'nutritor'* of Romuald (662-677), Grimoald's son who remained in Benevento as the *dux* after his father usurped the Lombard throne.[327] Romuald sends Sesuald north both to warn his father of the arrival of Constans and to seek his help. Accordingly, having obtained a promise of assistance from Grimoald, Sesuald returns to the south to bring the news to Romuald. Unfortunately for Sesuald, he is captured and threatened with death should he announce anything to Romuald and the besieged inhabitants of Benevento. Aware of the consequences, Sesuald approached the walls and declared:

> *Constans este, domine Romualdo et habens fiduciam noli turbari, quia tuus genitor citius tibi auxilium praebiturus aderit. Nam scias, cum hac nocte iuxta Sangrum fluvium cum valido exercitu manere. Tantum obsecro, ut misericordiam exhibeas cum mea uxore et filiis quia gens ista perfida me vivere non sinebit.*
> Be steadfast, master Romuald, have confidence and do not be disturbed since your father will quickly come to give you aid. For know that he is stopping this night near the river Sangro with a strong army. Only I beseech you to have pity on my wife and children since this faithless race will not suffer me to live.[328]

The prediction of Sesuald proves correct and he is executed on the orders of Constans.[329] In this context, Paul once again demonstrates the importance of fidelity and loyalty both to the *gens* and to the appropriate authority.

For the use of '*perditio*' in the work see Engels, *Observations sur le vocabulaire de Paul Diacre,* p. 80.

327 See Capo, p. 540; *MGH SrL*, p. 147; and *Foulke,* pp. 219-220. For Romuald see, Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, pp. 89-90. For Paul's use of the word '*nutritor*', see Engels, *Observations sur le vocabulaire de Paul Diacre*, p. 171. Engels notes three uses.

328 *Foulke*, p. 221 and *MGH SrL*, p. 148. The use of the word '*Constans*' here could signify a word play on the name of the emperor. It was good classical practice to make a pun on a useful name if one could. See Sadler, *The Latin Paronomasia*, pp. 138-141. A puzzle remains here as to why the imperative (*este*) is plural when the addressee (Romuald) is plainly singular. A second pun may be intended: '*iste*' for '*este*', i.e. 'that rotten Constans'. Presumably it was not a way of alerting Romuald to the presence of Constans since it was because of this that the messenger had been sent out in the first place. Whilst Engels does not dwell on or discuss the use of puns or '*Constans*', he suggested by way of conclusion that Paul remained faithful to the traditions of literary language and 'reservée' with regard to neologisms and recent (for Paul) language change. See Engels, *Observations sur le vocabulaire de Paul Diacre*, p. 93.

329 *MGH SrL*, p. 148 and *Foulke*, p. 221.

This is further emphasised with the final episode in this section, which depicts the conflicts between Lombards and Constans II. Romuald is also shown keeping his word and thus faith by defeating the Byzantine army led by one Saburrus, whereas Saburrus, despite his promises to the emperor, fails either to defeat the Lombards or to make a reality of his claims. Paul provides a gloss on the events in the south which makes his views clear:

> *Ita Saburrus, qui se imperatori suo victoriae tropeum de Langobardis promiserat patrare, ad eum cum paucis remeans, ignominiam deportavit; Romuald vero, patrata de inimicis victoria, Beneventum triumphans reversus est …*
> Thus Saburrus who had promised that he would achieve for his emperor a trophy of victory from the Langobards, returned to him with a few men only and came off with disgrace; but Romuald when the victory was obtained from the enemy, returned in triumph to Benevento …[330]

Paul makes explicit a moral contrast between those who keep and practise fidelity and those who do not.[331] Treatments of both figures and events at this point in Book V serve to emphasise the importance to Paul of fidelity and service to legitimate rulers. The contrasting fortunes of Sesuald and Saburrus mirror the contrasts between Grimoald and Perctarit (and also his son Cunincpert). Analysis of the structural arrangement has allowed a re-evaluation of the structural organisation and a better integration of the text which encompasses all the elements of the narrative rather than artificially emphasising one element at the expense of all else. It remains, however, to consider the role of the sources in the construction of the narrative, and how these materials have shaped both Book V and the anecdotal passages contained within.

In common with all the books of the *HL*, the narrative is affected by the materials that Paul had to hand. Table xxxix below sets out the identifiable sources for Book V together with those sections of the work that appear to originate from oral traditions or Paul's personal knowledge.

330 *MGH SrL*, p. 149 and *Foulke*, p. 223.
331 See Capo, p. 540.

Table xxxix Sources used in Book V

Chapter of Book V	Source
2-4	Oral sources/traditions
6	*Origo Gentis Langobardorum, Liber Pontificalis*, Oral Traditions Personal knowledge
7-8	*Liber Pontificalis* Oral sources
9	Oral source (?)
10	Oral sources
11	*Liber Pontificalis*
12	*Liber Pontificalis*
13	*Liber Pontificalis*
15	*Liber Pontificalis*
17	Personal knowledge
19, 20, 21	Oral source(s)
23	Oral source/traditions
29	Oral source
30	*Liber Pontificalis*
31	*Liber Pontificalis*
32	Frankish source (?) Oral source
33-41	Oral sources/traditions
36	Bible[332]

As noted previously, Book V represents greater reliance upon materials that appear to originate from either personal knowledge or oral traditions and are therefore not possible to identify. At this point, it will be useful to consider first, how Paul uses those sources that can be identified; and secondly, to discuss his use of oral traditions.

The quantity of known written materials that Paul accessed in his composition of Book V is somewhat limited in comparison with previous books in the *HL*. His approach to written materials that can be identified is provided by his use of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Within the period of coverage of Book V, the *Liber Pontificalis* covers the lives of nine pontiffs.[333] None of the accounts refer to any matters or events associated with the Lombards, but Paul re-used material from the first three of the nine i.e. Vitalian, Adeodatus,

332 For '*filius iniquitatis*' see II Kings III.34 and VII.10.

333 i.e. Vitalian 657-672, Adeodatus 672-676, Donus 676-678, Agatho 678-681, Leo II 681-682, Benedict II 684-685, Conon 686-687, and Sergius I 687-701.

and Donus.[334] In a similar fashion to how he used the work of Gregory of Tours in his Books II and III, Paul does not undertake a complete rewrite, but simply uses material that appeared to be useful for his purposes. With the life of Vitalian, for instance, he repeated most of the available details from this biography with regard to the appearance of Constans II in a block of material in Chapters 5, 7, and 11, omitting the biographical details of Vitalian and his death. The one exception is Paul's notice on the mission of Theodore of Tarsus (*c.* 602-90) and Hadrian (d.709-710) to England, which is moved away from the block of material on Constans to occupy a section of shorter, broadly annalistic entries around Chapter 30.[335] Here Paul repeats the information regarding Theodore's 'wonderful and discerning reflection' [*mirabili et discreta consideration*] on the sentences for sinners, a work described as a 'marvellous and accurate deliberation' [*mirabili et discreta consideration*] in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[336] With subsequent use of both the Lives of Adeodatus and Donus, it is again noticeable that most, but not all, of the details are repeated, often in the same order with no significant additions. His source use in this instance would suggest a relatively close adherence to the details of the original text both in terms of organisation and in the detail of the notices provided. This, however, is not the complete picture that one discerns with how Paul uses the oral traditions at his disposal.

Whilst there are few direct references to either personal knowledge or oral traditions in Book V, there remain in the text suggestions of where or how Paul acquired the information and the nature of his source. First, on two separate occasions, his text implies personal knowledge. In Chapter 6 he observes that the church of St. John in Monza had been bestowed upon the 'unworthy and adulterous' [*indignis et adulteris*] and whilst he does not expand upon the identity of this person or persons, his notice would suggest that he expressed an opinion from personal knowledge.[337] Secondly, he states in Chapter 17, discussing the *duces* of Friuli, that Ago (d. 662?) was still associated with 'a certain house within *Forum Iulii*'. Again, whilst he provides no further comment, his own connections to the city

334 Later in Book VI he used material from the Life of Agatho (VI.4). See Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina: Anastasii Abbatis* (vol. cxxviii) , col. 806-812 and Davis, *Liber Pontificalis*, pp. 76-80.

335 *MGH SrL*, p. 154 and *Foulke*, pp. 234-235.

336 *MGH SrL*, p. 154; *Foulke*, p. 235; Davis, *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 74; and Migne, *PL* (vol.cxxviii), col. 778.

337 *MGH SrL*, p. 147 and *Foulke*, p. 219.

would suggest that he writes from a position of personal acquaintance.[338] His references to oral materials or traditions in the text only hint at the origin of his comments. Whilst discussing the role of Saburrus in extracting troops from Constans to fight the Lombards, Paul adds the words *'ut fertur'* [it is said] to the figure quoted.[339] This, however, may have as much to do with the number of troops involved as to the origin of the information.[340] More important than these comments are Paul's remarks in Chapter 19. Here he discusses, as noted above, the downfall of Lupus of Friuli and the intervention of the Avars. He writes:

> *Tum Grimuald, nolens civile bellum inter Langobardos excitare, regi Avarum cacano mandavit, ut in Forumiuli contra Lupum ducem cum exercitu veniret eumque bello protereret. Quod et factum est. Nam veniente cacano cum magno exercitu in loco qui Flovius dicitur,* ***sicut nobis retulerunt seniores viri qui ipso bello fuerunt ...***
> Then Grimoald, unwilling to stir up civil war among the Langobards sent word to the Cagan, King of the Avars to come to *Forum Iulii* with his army against duke Lupus and defeat him in war. And this was done. For the Cagan came with a great army and in the place which is called *Flovius*, **as the older men who were in that war have related to us** ...[341]

It is not clear who these *'seniores viri'* were, though it is not beyond the bounds of credulity to take Paul's statement at face value. If the events of the Avar invasion occurred between 662 and 663, and Paul was in contact from an early age with those who had fought against the Avars in either the second or third decade of the eighth century in his home province, it is not inconceivable that he had access to a local oral tradition. Further, the word that Paul uses to signify this witness is a form of the verb *'refero',* the primary meaning of which is to report, announce, or relate, but may also be rendered as to respond, reply, or give back in answer.[342] It is, of course,

338 *MGH SrL*, p. 151 and *Foulke*, p. 227. '*Usque hodie domus quaedam intra Foroiuli constituta domus Agonis appellatur*'. For Ago, see Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, p. 67.
339 *MGH SrL*, p. 149 and *Foulke*, p. 222.
340 In a similar fashion in Chapter 33 with regard to the death of Grimoald, Paul writes, '*Cui, ut ferunt, medici venenata medicamina supponentes, eum ab hac funditus privarunt luce*' (*MGH SrL*, p. 151), which was rendered as 'The Doctors, as they say, administered poisoned medicines and totally withdrew him from this life' by Foulke (*Foulke*, p. 236). Paul does not explain who 'they' were.
341 *MGH SrL*, p. 151 and *Foulke*, p. 228.
342 '*Retulerunt*' (*sic*) is the third person plural perfect form of *refero*.

only one small indication, but this does shed some light on the sort of oral traditions or sources Paul may have called upon for his composition of events elsewhere in Book V.

The relationship between oral and written materials, and between individual and collective memory, presents considerable difficulties for both identification and interpretation.[343] There remain a number of issues in relation to Book V that will shed light on Paul's approach, now that he appears to have access to oral traditions. In his anecdotal presentations, one can detect his originality as an author. Does he, for instance, tell these stories because they are 'good' stories? Or is there something else within the narrative that is beyond his didactic agenda? Finally, can we detect within the anecdotal passages differences in length and style? Is it with this sort of material that we see his use of humour and colourful language, that we can further pinpoint his moral reactions, and his idea of good kingship?

The first issue to confront is the identification of his oral sources. Doubt must remain for the origin of his materials. His statement in Chapter 32, for instance, that it was Dagobert 'who governed the Kingdom of the Franks in Gaul (and) entered into a treaty of lasting peace' with Grimoald cannot be satisfactorily supported from extant written materials.[344] Notwithstanding this, one can still detect by a process of elimination that a considerable proportion of material in Book V relies upon oral traditions. It forms the basis for the narrative in at least 26 of the 41 chapters.[345] The subject material of these chapters ranges from notices relevant to events at the heart of the Lombard kingdom in Pavia, Friuli, Paul's home province, and Benevento in the far south.[346] Thus, his comments on Wechtari's defeat of the Slavs in Chapter 23 and the history of Romuald and Sesuald in Chapters 7, 8,

343 See Menache, *Written and Oral Testimonies in Medieval Chronicles*, in Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle VI*, pp. 6-30, at pp. 2-4; Geary, 'Oblivion between Orality and Textuality in the Tenth Century', in Althoff, Fried and Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past*, pp. 111-122; and Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*. For the identification of oral materials, see Wood, 'Gregory of Tours and Clovis' in Little and Rosenwein (eds.), *Debating the Middle Ages*, pp. 75-77.

344 *Foulke*, p. 235 and *MGH SrL*, pp. 154-155, '*Hac tempestate Francorum regnum aput Gallias Dagipertus regebat cum quo rex Grimuald pacis firmissimae foedus inierat*'. For Dagobert II (676-679) see Fouracre, *Forgetting and Remembering Dagobert II* in Fouracre and Ganz (eds)., *Frankland*, p. 74 where Fouracre suggests that Paul the Deacon's chronology was awry and that the '*pax*' was between Dagobert and Perctarit.

345 The chapters are: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (part), 7 (part), 8, 9, 10, 11, 19, 20, 21, 22 (probably), 23, 29, 32 (part), 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41. Of the remainder, material between 6 and 15 has a partial dependence on the *Liber Pontificalis*, and Chapters 16-18 and 24-28 may have some connection to oral traditions.

346 Pavia: Chapters 2, 3, 4, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41; Benevento: 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10; Friuli: 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 39.

and 10 would appear to depend upon Friulan and Beneventan traditions respectively. Paul's dependence upon oral sources is also signalled by the alteration in style between the vast majority of these chapters and those that depend upon written materials. It is noticeable that there is at the same time a correlation between the oral traditions and anecdotal passages, which in themselves form a significant proportion of Book V's narrative.[347] Even where Paul has written source material, such as, for the visit of Constans II, he combines this with the use of local traditions which detail the defeat of the emperor.[348]

More noticeable, however, are the distinctive stylistic features of these passages. In the first place, these chapters are considerably lengthier than those that depend upon written material alone. Whilst one must exercise some caution in presuming that length equates to Paul's freedom to compose, it is clear that these are the sorts of passages in which one can glimpse his own responses and opinions on events. In other words, it is apparent that Paul not only enjoys the telling of a good story, but will also divert his audience's attention away from purely didactic purposes. In this regard, for instance, in the first lengthy set-piece of Book V, which relates the escape of Perctarit, we see his employment of humour. Whilst the story recounted, as we have seen, has a serious message, Paul includes in Chapter 2 the humorous account of Perctarit's evasion of Grimoald. Perctarit is disguised as a 'slave from the country' [*rusticanum servum*] with Unulf's 'bed-clothes … a mattress and a bear's skin' [*pannos…lectaricios et culcitram ursinamque pellem*] and:

> *… quasi rusticanum servum extra ianuam inpellare coepit multasque ei iniurias faciens, fuste eum insuper percutere desuper et urguere non cessabat …*
> (Unulf) … began to drive him out of the door … as if he were a slave from the country, offering him many insults and did not cease moreover to strike him with a cudgel from above and urge him on …[349]

347 Anecdotal material is Perctarit's escape: 2, 3, and 4; Expedition of Constans II: 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10; Lupus, Grimoald, and the Avars: 20, 21, and 22; Wechtari and the Slavs: 23; Grimoald's death and Perctarit's return: 33; the rule of Perctarit: 34, 35, 36, and 37; and the triumph of Cunincpert: 38, 39, 40, and 41.

348 See *MGH SrL*, pp. 146-150 and *Foulke*, pp. 217-225. Chapter 9, a relatively straightforward chapter, provides brief annalistic material not present in the *Liber Pontificalis* on the victory of Mitola, Count of Capua, which would appear to rely upon local oral traditions but is not extended into a lengthier anecdotal passage. For Mitola see Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, pp. 38-39.

349 *MGH SrL*, p. 144 and *Foulke*, p. 212.

With this use of humour during the course of this passage, Paul shows a tendency to recount ancillary aspects, often comical, of an episode. In this instance, the scene serves to further deflate the menacing boasts of Grimoald made earlier in the same chapter. It is not the only occasion wherein he employs an often grotesque humour to undermine particular individuals.[350] It is particularly evident in his treatment of Alahis at the end of Book V. In Chapter 38, for instance, he recounts the curious scene of Alahis and Thomas the Deacon in which the usurper appears to have a concern for the contents of the deacon's underpants. When coupled with the vow of Alahis on the battlefield to fill a 'whole well with the members of churchmen', an interest in earthier subjects is revealed.[351] These sorts of details have been added to the course of his didactic narrative and are elements connected to his own views and predilections. This is usefully demonstrated further by the final four chapters.

The themes of *rebellio*, loyalty, and kingship are presented in the final chapters of Book V. There is significant additional material within these chapters that suggest Paul's dependence upon oral traditions, but also reveal his own responses to the course of events. These chapters provide a lengthy description of Cunincpert's temporary exclusion from power in 688-689.[352] Paul sets the scene in Chapter 38 where he indicates that *'Alahis vero iam dudum conceptam iniquitatem parturiens'* [Alahis gave birth to the iniquity he had long since conceived].[353] He emphasises not only the evil of Alahis's intentions, but also his failure to remain loyal to Cunincpert. He remarks that Alahis had forgotten 'the oath by which he had engaged to be most faithful to him' [*oblitus etiam insiurandum quo ei se fidelissimum esse spoponderat*] (i.e. Cunincpert).[354] To underscore the illegitimacy of Alahis, Paul provides a lengthy notice that details the *'magna tribulatio'* [great grief] of 'the priests and clergy, all of whom Alahis held in hatred'.[355] Central to this notice is the visit of the deacon Thomas to Alahis. Thomas, who visits the palace to seek peace and protection for the Church, is interrogated and only

350 For the combination of grotesque humour, supernatural elements, and the everyday, see Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public*, pp. 97-102. Paul's lively passages appear to follow the lead of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* in this respect.

351 *MGH SrL*, p. 160 and *Foulke*, p. 248.

352 The last four chapters equate to 150 lines in the *MGH* edition, an average of 37.5 per chapter. For the rest of Book V, the average is 12.56 lines.

353 *MGH SrL*, p. 157 and *Foulke*, p. 241.

354 *MGH SrL*, p. 157 and *Foulke*, p. 241

355 *MGH SrL*, p. 157, '*et maxime sacerdotibus et clericis quos omnes Alahis exosos habebat'* and *Foulke*, p. 241.

allowed to enter if he has 'clean breeches' [*femoralia*].[356] We are reminded again by Paul that Alahis 'held all churchmen in hatred' [*omnes clericos odio habebat*][357] and whilst no details of the subsequent bitter reproaches between Alahis and Thomas are given, Paul concludes that the 'haughty usurper of the kingdom' was held in execration and pointedly 'not long did rudeness and rough brutality keep the sovereignty they had usurped' [*non diutius feritar et cruda barbaries pervasum regnum optinuit*].[358] This chapter alone provides evidence of Paul's reaction to the kingship of Alahis. Not only does he give his own opinion at significant junctures, but he also uses the direct speech exchange of Alahis and Thomas as a key feature of his anecdotal passage to undermine the value of Alahis's kingship. Whilst one cannot be certain that the details of the interview originate from Thomas or not, it is apparent that we see here an oral tradition that has been expanded with Paul's own responses.

Thereafter, his responses and use of oral sources continue to be apparent in the next chapters, in particular with the course of the battle between Alahis and Cunincpert. Paul directly contrasts the loyalty of one set of supporters of the rightful king with that of the disloyalty of those who ostensibly supported the usurper. On the one hand, he describes how an un-named Tuscan crosses over to the army of Cunincpert when Alahis refuses to engage in single combat to decide the battle. This is in contrast to the sacrifice of Seno, who insists that he fight on Cunincpert's behalf.[359] When Alahis realises that he has not killed Cunincpert, he exclaims:

> *Heu me … nihil egimus, quando ad hoc proelium gessimus, ut clericum occiderimus. Tale itaque nunc facio votum, ut si mihi Deus victoriam iterum dederit quod unum puteum de testiculis impleam clericorum.*
> Woe is me! We have done nothing when we have brought the battle to this point that we have killed a churchman! Therefore, I now make this kind of a vow that if God shall give me the victory I will fill a whole well with the members of churchmen.[360]

356 Engels, *Observations*, p. 78 re: *femoralia*. For Thomas of Pavia see Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 244-247. An extant epitaph for Thomas records his chastity, which would 'explain the significance of the somewhat strange and distasteful exchange' (at p. 245).
357 *MGH SrL*, p. 158 and *Foulke*, p. 242.
358 *MGH SrL*, p. 158 and *Foulke*, p. 242.
359 *MGH SrL*, p. 160 and *Foulke*, pp. 246-247.
360 *MGH SrL*, p. 160 and *Foulke*, p. 248.

Cunincpert again offers single combat. At this stage, Paul emphasises the support of divine providence for Cunincpert and his army when Alahis indicates that he sees *'... inter contos suos sancti archangeli Michahelis'* [among his (i.e. the army of Cunincpert) spears the image of the holy Archangel Michael].[361] With the battle won by Cunincpert, Paul concludes that *'Tandem crudelis tyrannus Alahis interiit, et Cunincpert adiuvante se Domino, victoriam cepit'* [At length the cruel tyrant Alahis perished and Cunincpert with the help of the Lord obtained the victory].[362]

Paul's description of the battle of Coronate is exceptional in the *HL*. Elsewhere in the work, significant battles such as Scultenna or Novara have no extended narrative or anecdotal presentation.[363] Within the three chapters that describe the battle, one can detect Paul's ability to extend oral traditions and weave them into a coherent narrative. He does this by the extensive use, greater than elsewhere, of direct speech quotations, by the use of colourful language, and by his own interventions, which allow him to impart, not only his didactic intent, but also the human and humorous aspects of experience during the 'struggles of war'. By the end of the chapter and of Book V, it is no surprise that Paul allows himself the space to comment that Cunincpert *'cum omnium exultatione et triumpho victoriae Ticinum reversus est'* [returned to *Ticinum* with the rejoicing of all and in the triumph of victory].[364] Whilst it is not possible to identify exactly how much his anecdotal presentations depend upon oral traditions and how much are Paul's own compositions, the presence of this sort of material throughout Book V in particular would suggest that there was significant editorial activity in the shaping of the narrative on Paul's part. These passages, more than any other, reveal his taste for anecdote, but also his ability to mix serious didactic intent with humour and drama.

The contents of Book V need to be considered within the context of the whole work rather than separately. When this is done, it is evident that there is little, if any, glorification of Grimoald. In structural terms, as we have seen, the portrayal of Grimoald is problematic and often ambivalent for Paul. This portrayal demonstrates the difficulties for Paul in approaching the rule of a king who does not conform in any substantial way to his preferred model of Lombard kingship. Additionally, the position of Grimoald in the

361 *MGH SrL*, p. 161 and *Foulke*, p. 249. See Antonopoulos, *King Cunincpert and the Archangel Michael* in Pohl and Erhart (eds.), *Die Langobarden*, pp. 383-387.
362 *MGH SrL*, p. 161 and *Foulke*, p. 249.
363 Scultenna (IV.45) and Novara (VI.18). *MGH SrL*, pp. 135 and 171 and *Foulke*, pp. 200 and 264.
364 *MGH SrL*, p. 161 and *Foulke*, p. 249.

text has no greater structural significance when compared with Perctarit and Cunincpert. The book is framed with the escape of Perctarit from the clutches of Grimoald at the start and concludes with the definitive victory of Cunincpert at the end. Both of these sections are passages composed by Paul from oral traditions that allow him to demonstrate his mature abilities to present a narrative because they do not depend on written materials. He is thus free to develop his theme and content and he does this with the final seven chapters that deal with Perctarit, Cunincpert, events in Pavia, and the effects of *rebellio*.[365] These are the themes to which he attaches significance and importance. The victory at the end of the book clearly points to Paul's presentation of that king who embodies the fullest expression of the kingship he favours. This king, Liutprand, as both the final king in the *HL* and its hero, the culmination of the work and of the Lombard kingdom, will be considered in the next section on Book VI.

Book VI *'Nutritor Gentis':* The Ascendancy of Liutprand and Lombard Kingship

'Paul's last book contains many grammatical errors and faults of construction. It was more carelessly written than the preceding portions of the work and being the last book of an unfinished history is in itself somewhat incomplete'.[366] This judgement partly depends upon the grammatical *minutiae* of the text, but an analysis of the structural organisation and the inter-related themes of Book VI will suggest that the *Historia Langobardorum* naturally concludes with Liutprand's death and that the work was by no means unfinished. The thematic organisation, rather than a random arrangement, points to a progressive theme, which has at its core Paul's depiction of Lombard kingship. Paul's primary concern remains his favoured model of Lombard governance, which depicts rulers who are full in wisdom, might, mercy, and justice. At the centre of the narrative are presentations of three kings: Cunincpert (688-700), Aripert II (701-712), and Liutprand (712-744). In the sequence of kings, we see Paul work towards his model, which culminates with Liutprand, the last Lombard king in

365 See Cammorosano, *Paolo Diacono e il problema della regalità* in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli Altomedievale*, p. 103.
366 *Foulke*, p. 309.

the work and, as Bullough notes, his 'last hero'.[367] Paul himself signals the importance of Liutprand in VI.22 where he recounts Aripert II's actions upon his assumption of power. Liutprand's brother Sigiprand is blinded and both his mother and sister are disfigured. Liutprand, however, was left unharmed. Paul observes: *'Quod Dei Omnipotentis nutu factum fuisse, qui eum ad regni gubernacula praeparabant, dubium non est'.* [There is no doubt that this was done by the command of God Almighty who was preparing him for the management of the kingdom].[368] This theme is coupled with the conflicts experienced by the Lombard kings and how rebellion was overcome. Once again, Paul explicitly associates his history with a concern to see the end of such Lombard in-fighting. He remarks: *'Haec ideo vel maxime in hac posuimus historia, ne quid aliquid per contentionis malum simile contingat'* [We put these things into this history especially for this purpose that nothing further of a like character may happen through the evil of dissension].[369] It is interesting to note that so far as possible audiences for his work are concerned, this interest in ending disorder could be directed equally at both Lombards and Franks. With Liutprand (and to a lesser extent Cunincpert), he demonstrates both dissension defeated and the maintenance of effective rule. For McKitterick, whilst Liutprand is Paul's 'main hero' and there is, within the text, an 'evident pride in the Lombard rulers', the model presented by Paul at the very end of the work is one which, some have argued, depends upon an implicit association with Carolingian conceptions and models.[370] Comment on Francia occurs throughout Book VI, but it is clear from the text and the structural arrangement that Paul's concerns were focused on the presentation of an independent Lombard model of kingship that did not depend on Frankish exemplars. Before we can address the issues of treatment or determine the impact of his sources on the shape of his narrative, or finally consider the depiction of Liutprand

367 Liutprand's nephew Hildeprand is mentioned as sharing the throne with Liutprand but none of his actions during his short independent rule are mentioned. Bullough, *Ethnic History*, p. 100.

368 *MGH SrL*, p. 172 and *Foulke*, p. 266. See also Capo, p.575, and Balzaretti, *Masculine Authority and State Identity* in Pohl and Erhart, *Die Langobarden*, pp. 373-374.

369 *MGH SrL*, p. 173 and *Foulke*, p. 270.

370 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon*, pp. 327-328. See also McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 71-72, where McKitterick suggests that 'Liutprand can be demonstrated to be a ruler on the Carolingian model for did he not … establish a palace chapel and appoint priests and churchmen to perform the daily service for him?' Leonardi, *La figura di Paolo Diacono* in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli Altomedievale*, pp. 21-22 and Capo, pp. 610-611. See also Balzaretti, *Masculine Authority and State Identity* in Pohl and Erhart, *Die Langobarden*, pp. 378-379.

in the context of Book VI specifically, and the whole work generally, we must first consider the book's structural organisation.

In terms of both total word count and number of chapters, Book VI is the lengthiest in the *HL*. The narrative commences two years before the battle of Coronate (689), which concludes Book V.[371] Certain distinct features can be identified at the outset. In the first place, Book VI has more chapters of nine lines or fewer than any of the previous books i.e. 37 of the 58 chapters, which represents nearly two-thirds of Book VI.[372] This brevity is partially connected, as we shall see, to the nature of Paul's sources. Anecdotal material is not absent, but with only three chapters of between 30 and 59 lines, it is evident that both oral traditions and lengthier narrative presentations are diminished in comparison with the immediately preceding Book V.[373] Secondly, the structural organisation of Book VI at first sight appears to be fragmented, but this is misleading, since the work is in fact composed of a number of layered contrasts. In the first chapter, Paul describes the capture of Taranto by Romuald I of Benevento (671-687) and the foundation of a church and convent by his wife Theuderata; in the second he shows the development of unity through the marriage of the Duke of Benevento to the sister of Cunincpert.[374] Thereafter one sees a common pattern repeated throughout the book as Paul varies his subject focus in small (often one chapter only) blocks of material which do not extend beyond six continuous chapters.[375] Thus whilst the opening three chapters discuss matters in Benevento, Friuli, and a failed rebellion against Cunincpert, Chapter 4 shifts the focus to events in Constantinople at the Sixth General Council before Paul's narrative returns to Italy in Chapter

371 Only three extant manuscripts have the final two chapters. See Capo, p. 563 and *MGH SrL*, pp. 27-28 and p. 31. Waitz suggested that Paul added the final two chapters on a second or subsequent occasion. See Krüger, 'Zur "beneventanischen" Konzeption der Langobardengeschichte, p. 23. VI.58 is the '*Schlußkapitel*' according to Krüger.

372 Chapters 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, and 57.

373 The story of Ferdulf and Argait appears to depend upon Friulan oral traditions. The chapters are: VI.15 (30 lines), VI.24 (40 lines), and VI.58 (42 lines). These are, in order of position in the text: the visit of Cædwalla to Rome, Ferdulf and Argait, and the Rule and Eulogy of Liutprand. See Balzaretti, *Sexuality in Late Lombard Italy*, in Harper and Proctor (eds.), *Medieval Sexuality*, pp. 7-30.

374 *MGH SrL*, pp. 164-165 and *Foulke*, pp. 250-251. Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, pp. 87-88 and 90-91. Krüger, *'Zur 'beneventanischen' Konzeption'*, p. 26.

375 See Table xxi on pp. 85-87 for details. The patterning is as follows: LLL-C-L/C-L-C-RRRR-C-B-F-LLLLLL-F-LLLL-L/C-L-RR-C-R-L-R-L-R-F-LL-C-R-F-LLL-F/H-R-L-L/R-L-L/C-L-FF-LLLL. (L= Lombards, F = Francia, C = Church, R = Rome/Byzantium, B = Britain, and H = Iberia).

5 to recount the effects of pestilence in Pavia.[376] Alterations in the subject focus allowed Paul to create a structural arrangement of layered contrasts between his notices. This is demonstrated not only by his juxtaposition of material on the Byzantine empire and Francia, but also by his comments on matters in Italy, and in particular, his remarks on Friuli and Benevento, which converge with his depiction of the *regnum*'s incremental extension of authority as the book progresses. Accordingly, Benevento is portrayed as an entirely independent power with the implication that the marriage alliance of Chapter 2 was agreed on the basis of equality between the two lineages of Grimoald and Perctarit.[377] This is still the case in Chapter 27, where Paul notes Gisulf I's (689-706) attack on Rome.[378] By the end of the book, however, Paul indicates that:

> *Tunc rex Liutprandum Beneventum perveniens Gisulfum, suum nepotem iterum in loco proprio ducem constituit. Rebusque ita conpositis ad suum palatium remeavit.*
> Then King Liutprand arriving at *Beneventum* appointed his nephew Gisulf duke again in the place which had belonged to him. And when matters were thus arranged he returned to his palace.[379]

Friuli's control by the *regnum* is emphasised earlier in Chapter 3, where Paul records the expulsion of *dux* Rodoald (*c.* 671-*c.* 95) and his replacement by his brother Ado, who is merely named *loci-servator* by Cunincpert.[380] This progression reveals that as the reach of the Lombard kings extends into areas previously only nominally subject to their authority, so too the ability of the dukes of Benevento, Friuli, and Spoleto to act independently

376 *MGH SrL*, pp. 165-166 and *Foulke*, pp. 251-254. For the rebellion of Ansfrit see Capo, pp. 564-555 and Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, p. 68. Antonopoulos suggests that the 'overall picture we get (via Paul) of Cunincpert is that of a magnanimous person, always ready to forgive his opponents and incorporating them into his retinue whenever possible'. This would not appear to match Cunincpert's reactions to either Ansfrit or Alahis. See Antonopoulos, *King Cunincpert and the Archangel Michael* in Pohl and Erhart (eds.), *Die Langobarden*, p. 385.

377 *MGH SrL*, p. 164 and *Foulke*, p. 250.

378 *MGH SrL*, p. 174 and *Foulke*, pp. 271-272.

379 *MGH SrL*, p. 185 and *Foulke*, p. 303. For Gisulf's attack see *MGH SrL*, p. 174 and *Foulke*, pp. 271-272. For Gisulf I and II, see Gasparri, *I Duchi*, pp. 91 and p. 95-96 respectively.

380 *MGH SrL*, p. 165 and *Foulke*, p. 252. See also Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, p. 68. Once Ansfrit of Ragogna is defeated, Ado becomes *loci-servator*. Ansfrit may have remained *dux* in Friuli for three years i.e. *c.* 695-698 before his rebellion against Cunincpert, but Paul's narrative implies that this occurred directly after his *putsch* against Rodoald.

diminishes. We see here a key concern of Paul's, namely the enhancement of strong, central authority via Lombard kingship.

This provides the key to the organisation of the narrative structure, which is designed to emphasise the development of Lombard kingship and was used by Paul as a narrative 'peg' upon which he attached other notices, a device reminiscent of both Books II and III. The narrative provides a chronologically sequential commentary through the succession and rule of the Lombard kings. First, the core of the material in Book VI revolves around the trajectory of Lombard kingship until its culmination with Liutprand at the end of the book. This is evident in the structural organisation of the material in that Paul contrasts events which deal with matters beyond the Lombard *regnum* with his prime *leitmotif*. Twenty-seven of the chapters concern either Lombard kings or potential Lombard kings.[381] The cumulative effect of this is to create a structural core around his notices on the principal Lombard rulers. Remarks on matters beyond Italy are placed between this material. Comment on the Byzantine Empire, for instance, is indicative of this approach, forming five discrete blocks of material i.e. Chapters 10-13, 31-34, 36, 41, and finally Chapter 47.[382] The content of these chapters allows a favourable comparison to be drawn between the (relatively) straightforward Lombard succession of kings and the disorderly and often brutal acquisition of power by a succession of short-lived Byzantine emperors.[383] It would be unwise to draw this distinction too tightly, however, in view of Paul's remarks on the disorder that followed the death of Cunincpert (700-701).[384] Rather, the force of his final comments on events at the heart of the empire in Chapter 49 points to a favourable comparison *vis-à-vis* the time of Liutprand. Thus he remarks:

381 The chapters are 2, 3, 6, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 35, 38, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 58. Both Ratchis (744-749 and 756-757) and Aistulf (749-756) are noted. The only Lombard king who ruled in Italy who is not mentioned by Paul in the *Historia Langobardorum* is Desiderius (757-774). McKitterick is thus incorrect to observe that 'no other king' was mentioned. See McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon and the Franks,* p. 327. See also Bullough, *Ethnic History*, pp. 94-95.

382 Paul's remarks on Leo III in Chapter 49 are organised within material on Liutprand's siege of Ravenna, the refusal of Ravenna and Venetia to adhere to Leo's iconoclastic policies, and Liutprand's further military advances in *'Emilia-Romagna'*.

383 *Narrators*, pp. 418-419.

384 See *Narrators*, pp. 416-417. Goffart portrays this period as one that follows the 'ironic' mourning after Cunincpert's death and goes from 'bad' to 'worse'. See also Balzaretti, *Masculine Authority and State Identity* in Pohl and Erhart, *Die Langobarden*, pp. 373-374.

> *Per idem tempus Leo Augustus ad peiora progressus est, ita ut conpelleret omnes Constantinopolim habitantes tam vi quam blandimentis, ut deponerent ubicumque haberentur imagines tam Salvatoris quamque eius sanctae genetricis vel omnium sanctorum, easque in medium civitatis incendio concremari fecit. Et quia plerique ex populo tale scelus fieri praepediabant aliquanti ex eis capite truncati, alii parte corporis multati sunt.*
> During the same time the emperor Leo went on to worse things so that he compelled all the inhabitants of Constantinople either by force or by blandishments, to give up the images of the Saviour and of His Holy Mother and of all the Saints wherever they were and he caused them to be burned by fire in the midst of the city. And because many of the people hindered such a wickedness from being done, some of them were beheaded and others suffered mutilation in the body.[385]

When one considers these comments in the light of the structural organisation of Book VI, one can see their importance. On more than one occasion Paul pairs a chapter or a group of chapters of Byzantine notices with one or more on Lombard developments.[386] With Chapter 49, a contrast is not only provided by its position in relation to chapters either side, but there is also an internal set of contrasts with the units that comprise the chapter. Paul commences with Liutprand's capture of Classe and his siege of Ravenna (effectively the last remnants of Byzantine rule in central Italy) and then notes how the Lombards assist in the defence of the Pope from an attack launched from the Exarchate. Then he contrasts this with the observation that:

> *Hac tempestate Leo imperator aput Constantinopolim sanctorum imagines depositas incendit Romanoque pontifici similia facere si imperialem gratiam habere vellet mandavit. Sed pontifex hoc facere contempsit.*

385 *MGH SrL*, p. 182 and *Foulke*, p. 293. For Leo III (717-741) see Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium*, pp. 143-144. See also Huxley, *Hagiography and the First Byzantine Iconoclasm*, pp. 187-196; Marazzi, *Il conflitto fra Leone III Isaurico e il papato*, pp. 231-257; and Delogu, *Kingship and the Shaping of the Lombard Body Politic* in Ausenda, Delogu and Wickham (eds.), *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest*, p. 269. Paul's straightforward report may have been a riposte to the views of Theodulf of Orlèans in particular and Carolingian responses in general to the iconoclastic controversy. See Herren, *Theological Aspects* in Chiesa.
386 See for instance Chapters 6-9 with 10-13; Chapters 27-30 with 31-32 and 34; and Chapter 35 with Chapter 36. See Table xl below.

> At this time the emperor Leo burned the images of the saints placed in Constantinople and ordered the Roman pontiff to do the like if he wished to have the emperor's favour but the pontiff disdained to do this thing.[387]

Thereafter he records the Italian opposition to the iconoclastic policies of Leo before noting successes of Liutprand. The chapter concludes with opposition to Leo's policies in Constantinople. The rhythm of the contrasts and the organisation of the units points to an implicitly favourable association with Liutprand. Whilst this structural device is but implicit in the organisation, it shows through its use of negative comments on Byzantium that this should be seen as not only the endgame of (heretical) Byzantine rule in Italy, but also signifies new success of the Lombard *regnum*.[388]

Secondly, the importance that Paul accords to the significant protagonists of Book VI can be identified through his structural arrangements. Whilst it should be pointed out that this significance is not entirely signalled by either the total numbers of chapters or lines, it does, nevertheless, point the way to the weight Paul attaches to that of the individual's role in the narrative. Three kings stand out in Book VI: Cunincpert (46 lines), Aripert II (45 lines), and Liutprand (193 lines), due to the amount of material devoted to them, but also to the way that material is interleaved around them. It is clear, however, that Liutprand is the 'main hero' of the book, but he should not be considered alone. Rather, one may detect a division of the book into three broad sections where Cunincpert represents the continuance of the orthodox kingship of Perctarit (Chapters 1-17); where Aripert II embodies a somewhat problematic position (Chapters 18-35); and finally where Liutprand concludes the work as the (almost) perfected model of independent Lombard kingship (Chapters 36-58).[389]

It will be useful at this point to see how this works in terms of the detailed narrative structures and how each of these rulers reflects a particular structural role. The table below represents the details of the book's structure

387 *MGH SrL*, p. 181 and *Foulke*, p. 289.

388 *Narrators*, pp. 416-418. Goffart compares the 'dismal' course of Byzantine developments with that of the 'equally dismal history of Cunincpert and his successors'. See also Lamma *Il mondo bizantino in Paolo Diacono* in *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto Medioevo*, pp. 197-214 and Herren, *Theological Aspects of the Writings of Paul the Deacon* in Chiesa, pp. 223-235, especially p. 234: '*Paulus* consistently supported papal policy, provided that it was not in opposition to the East'. Extant epigraphy from Corteolona contrasts Liutprand with Leo III, who had fallen into 'the pit of schism'. See Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 248-249.

389 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon and the Franks*, p. 328. McKitterick suggests that this is a 'Carolingian model' but one in which Liutprand 'does not quite measure up'.

together with the structural presence of Paul's remarks on Cunincpert, Aripert II, and Liutprand.

Table xl Structural Organisation of Book VI

Chapters	Themes	Kings	Number of lines in *MGH* edition on each king[390]
1-2	Benevento (i)		
3		**Cunincpert** (i)	46
4	General Council		
5	Pestilence in Pavia		
6-9		**Cunincpert** (ii)	
10-13	Byzantium (i)		
14	Council of Aquileia		
15		**Cunincpert** (iii) and the Saxon Kings	
16	The Franks and Arnulf		
17-22		**Cunincpert** (iv) and war	
23	Anschis (Ansegisel)		
24-26	Friuli (ii)		
27	Benevento (ii)		
28-30		**Aripert II** (i)	45
31-32, 34	Byzantium (ii)		
35		**Aripert II** (ii)	
36	Byzantium (iii)		
37	Pippin II		
38		**Liutprand** (i)	193
39-40	Benevento (iii)		
41	Byzantium (iv)		
42	Charles Martel		
43-44		**Liutprand** (ii)	
45	Friuli (iii)		
46-47	Charles Martel and the Saracens		
48-58		**Liutprand** (iii)	

390 The full range of figures are by lines: Cunincpert (688-700) – 46 lines; Liutpert I (700-701) – 7 lines; Raginpehrt (701) – 5 lines; (Rotharit (701) – 10 lines); Aripert II (701-712) – 45 lines; Ansprand (712) – 31 lines; Liutprand (712-744) – 193 lines; Hildeprand (737-744) – 10 lines; Ratchis (744-749 and 756-757) 30 lnes; and Aistulf (749-756) – 25 lines.

Whilst this table shows the variations in subject matters throughout the book, it also reveals that Paul maintains four principal themes.[391] These are: Benevento and Friuli (with Spoleto forming a minor additional element);[392] Byzantium and the East; Francia; and, finally Lombard kingship. Groups of chapters related to each of the major protagonists are separated by materials on a variety of subject matters. Paul organised the text to discuss Cunincpert in the first nine chapters and divided his comments on Cunincpert into a subsequent block between Chapters 15 and 22. Chapter 35 marks the point of *chiasmus* between the first and second half of Book VI, which presents Liutprand. Once again, the text is divided into blocks of units where Paul's main comments on Liutprand (Chapters 38-40 and 45-58) are divided by material which deals with matters in the east and Francia.[393] This form of organisation provides a contrast; first, by the connections between the sections on the main protagonists and their subsequent 'interludes', but also by the overall arrangement or patterning. The role of Chapter 35 as the chiasmic pivot is particularly significant in that it separates the first third of the book and mirrors the last third of the book. The good rule of Cunincpert is balanced with that of Liutprand. Between them, in the central section, stands the rule of Aripert II, which furnishes a distinct contrast. It will be useful to look at this in more detail.

Cunincpert's position at both the end of Book V and the start of Book VI is reminiscent of a device that Paul has used with other kings both to frame his narrative and to drive his history forward.[394] His treatment of Cunincpert after his 'triumph of victory' at the end of Book V remains positive. There are four separate sections that mention Cunincpert. These record how internal dissension and revolt are overcome. First, in Chapter 3 Paul notes how Cunincpert defeats Ansfrit of Ragogna (*c.* 695?-698?) who, after having supplanted Rodoald (671-*c.* 695?) as *dux* of Friuli, also attempts

391 Goffart suggests that there are 'eight almost equally weighted themes set out in a very fragmentary way'. See *Narrators*, p. 414.

392 See *Narrators*, p. 414. Goffart highlights the opening of Book VI in Benevento, 'that Spoleto begins its second half (unspecified) and that in the last, rather ominous chapters, both southern principalities intersect with King Liutprand (and the Frioulans (*sic*) who would succeed him').

393 The units are 1-9, 10-4, 15-22, 23-30, 31-34, 35, 36-37, 38-40, 41-42, and 43-58.

394 See above Alboin Books I-II (pp. 149-151), the *'inter-regnum'* Books II-III (p. 159), Agilulf Books III-IV (p. 182), and Grimoald Books IV-V (p. 200). A point noted by McKitterick i.e. the connection between Books V and VI, *Paul the Deacon and the Franks*, p. 327 Bullough notes the start of Book VI reverts to the 670s and Beneventan material (as does Goffart), but does not comment on Paul's device of linking the books.

to usurp his 'sovereignty' [*regnum*].[395] Later in Chapters 6 and 8 Paul relates two separate episodes in which Cunincpert plots the deaths of Aldo, Grauso, and John of Bergamo. Paul's account of Cunincpert's plot against Aldo and Grauso is a distinctly odd story in which a number of significant elements remain obscure. We are not informed, for instance, why Aldo and Grauso, who had been instrumental in Cunincpert's defeat of Alahis, should now merit death. Paul's account commences with Cunincpert's conversation with his 'master of horse' [*marpahis*]. 'Suddenly' during the course of their discussion 'in the window near which they were standing sat a fly of the largest kind which when Cunincpert attempted to strike with his knife to kill it, he only cut off its foot' [*repente in fenestra iuxta quam consistebant, una de maiusculis musca consedit; quam Cunincpert cultello ut extinguerat percutere volens, eius tantum pedem abscidit*]. As Aldo and Grauso approach the palace they are warned of Cunincpert's plan by 'a certain lame man with one foot cut off' [*quidam claudus uno pede truncate*].[396] 'Seized with great fear' [*magno timore correpti*] they take refuge.[397] At first Cunincpert believes that his *marpahis* has revealed his designs, but the master of horse is strenuous in his denial. Accordingly Cunincpert asked Aldo and Grauso to explain how they had learnt of the peril they were under:

> *Tunc illi sicut factum fuerat regi mandaverunt, dicentes, claudum nominem obvium se habuisse, qui unum pedum truncatum habebat et genu tenus crure ligneo utebatur et hunc fuisse sui interitus nuntium.*
> Then they sent word to the king as it had occurred, saying that a lame man had met them upon the way who had one foot cut off and used a wooden leg up to the knee, and that this man had been the one who had told them they would be killed.[398]

Cunincpert promptly understood that: *'... muscam illam cui pedem truncaverat malignum spiritum fuisse et ipsum sui secreti consilia prodidisset'* ['the fly whose foot he (i.e. Cunincpert) had cut off had been a bad spirit and that it had betrayed his secret designs'].[399] Cunincpert 'straightaway took Aldo and Grauso on his word of honour from (that) church, pardoned their

395 *MGH SrL*, p. 165 and *Foulke*, p. 252. Ragogna (Ruvigne) is a small commune in the province of Udine (Udin), about thirty miles west of Cividale.
396 *MGH SrL*, p. 167 and *Foulke*, p. 256. Foulke renders '*consilium*' as 'evil design' rather than simply 'decision', 'purpose', or 'policy'.
397 *MGH SrL*, p. 167 and *Foulke*, p. 256.
398 *MGH SrL*, p. 167 and *Foulke*, p. 257.
399 *MGH SrL*, p. 167 and *Foulke*, p. 257.

fault and afterwards held them as faithful subjects' (*qui statim Aldonem et Grausonem in sua fide de eadem basilica suscipiens, eisdem culpam pepercit et in reliquum eosdem in loco fidelium habuit*).[400]

What are we to make of this story? There are two points of interest here. First, this is not the only occasion that Paul introduces a story with a folkloric element, but with the noticeable absence of God. His references to palace intrigue and Cuninpert's conversation with his *marpahis* suggests a link not only to local traditions in Pavia, but also the sort of story that Paul may have encountered whilst at the palace himself, only one generation later. Secondly, on a structural and thematic level, the passage illuminates Paul's methods and approaches. He has 'dressed-up' the story so that it demonstrates not only the mercy of Cuninpert, but also the value of his 'word' as a king. Rather than a story that has determined Paul's structure and approach, we see that it has been integrated into the text with shorter chronological and annalistic notices, so that it works as a centre-piece to his comments on Cuninpert. In this way we see Paul's predilection for an entertaining story fulfilling a structural function rather than mere ornament. He has used the material to illustrate his message which, in this case, is the portrayal of Cuninpert. Whilst this is not as developed as Liutprand's sophisticated portrayal, there are similarities between the two which provide a significant thematic link.

The second brief notice on Cuninpert merely mentions how Cædwalla of Wessex (*c.* 685-*c.* 688) was 'magnificently received by him' [*ab eo mirifice susceptus est*] whilst on his way to Rome.[401] Paul's final remarks on Cuninpert follow two chapters later and form a positive obituary, marking the end of his 'good' rule. These remarks are the key to his response to Cuninpert. He notes:

> *Inter haec Cuninpert cunctis amabillimus princeps postquam duodecim annos Langobardorum regem post patrem solus obtenuit, tandem ab hac luce subtractus est. Hic in campo Coronate, ubi bellum contra Alahis gessit, in honore beati Georgii martyris monasterium construxit. Fuit autem vir elegans et omni bonitate conspicuus audaxque bellator. Hic cum multis Langobardorum lacrimis iuxta basilicam domini Salvatoris, quam quondam avus eiusdem Aripert construxerat, sepultus est.*

400 *MGH SrL*, p. 168 and *Foulke*, p. 257.

401 *MGH SrL*, p. 169 and *Foulke*, p. 261. Cædwalla's arrival in Italy (689) would have occurred towards the start of Cuninpert's rule rather than the end. Paul's notice is placed with material that relates to 698.

> During these occurrences, Cunincpert a king most beloved by all, after he had held for twelve years alone, succeeding his father, the kingdom of the Langobards was finally withdrawn from this light. He built in the field of Coronate where he had waged war against Alahis, a monastery in honour of the blessed martyr George. He was moreover a handsome man and conspicuous in every good quality and a bold warrior. He was buried with many tears of the Langobards near the church of our Lord the Saviour which his grandfather Aripert had formerly built.[402]

There is nothing here to indicate that Paul thought that Cunincpert was a Lombard *roi fainéant* or a bad king as Goffart suggested.[403] Instead, Paul appreciated the legitimate rule of Cunincpert. He singles out on two occasions the popularity of the king, a ruler whom, he notes, was *'cunctis amabillimus',* but also records his pious foundation of a monastery to celebrate his victory over Alahis. Finally, Paul concludes that Cunincpert was *omni bonitate conspicuus* and an *audax ... bellator*. In comparison with his remarks on Liutprand, which conclude the work, this is relatively restrained, but there are, nonetheless, a number of common attributes that link both rulers. Both Cunincpert's ability in war and his pious monastic foundations are highlighted together with his 'mercy to offenders' which, as we shall see, are attributes Paul also associates with Liutprand.

The end of Cunincpert's rule provides a further contrast with the confused and contested assumption of power of Aripert II that follows. In the next four chapters Paul describes the conflicts and shifting alliances that see three kings occupy the kingship in less than two years.[404] Aripert II's success is assured when he seizes both Rotharit of Bergamo and Cunincpert's son, Liutpert. He remarks:

402 *MGH SrL*, p. 170 and *Foulke*, pp. 263-264 (amended). See also de Rubeis, *La tradizione epigrafica in Paolo Diacono* in Chiesa, pp. 147-148. Cunincpert is referred to as a '*florentissimus ac robustissimus rex'* in his epigraph and a '*rector fortis et piisimus*' in the *Carmen de Synodo Ticinensi*. See *MGH SrL*, p. 190. See also Arecchi, *I mausolei dei re longobardi a Pavia*, p. 31 and Romualdo di S.Maria, *Flavia Papia Sacra opus in quatuor partes divisum*, p. 33. See under '*Ianuarii 14'* http://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Flavia_Papia_Sacra.html?id=FzCFZwEACAAJandredir_esc=y.

403 *Narrators*, p. 416 and Antonopoulos, *King Cunincpert and the Archangel Michael* in Pohl and Erhart (eds.), *Die Langobarden*, pp. 383 and 385.

404 The kings were Liutpert I (700-701), Raginpert (701), and Aripert II (701-712). Additionally, Paul refers to Rotharit as *pseudo-rex* and indicates that Ansprand, Ato, Tatzo, and Farao also either contest for or assist in the acquisition of authority. See Capo, p. 575. Bognetti assumed that Ato, Tatzo, and Farao were dukes. See Bognetti, *L'età Longobarda*, p. 519.

> *Mox cepit* (i.e. Bergamo) *conprehensumque Rotharit pseudoregem eius caput barbamque radens, Taurinis in exilium trusit, quique ibidem post aliquid dies peremptus est. Liutpertum vero, quem ceperat pari modo in balneo vita privavit.*
> (He) presently took it (i.e. Bergamo) and seized Rotharit, the false king and shaving his hair and beard, thrust him into exile at Turin and there after some days he was killed. Liutpert indeed whom he had taken he deprived of life in like manner in the bath.[405]

Once Aripert had disposed of both Liutpert and Rotharit, Paul records his brutality towards the family of Ansprand (*c.* 660/661-712).[406] Ansprand had acted both as tutor and protector to Cunincpert's young son, Liutpert, and had attempted to prevent the assumption of kingship by both Raginpert and his son, Aripert II. Given the cruelty of Aripert described by Paul towards the family of Ansprand, it remains curious that Aripert permitted Liutprand, Ansprand's younger son, to leave un-molested and join his father in exile in Bavaria. Having provided these details, Paul's remaining references to Aripert II are restricted to two chapters alone. The first, based upon a reference in the *Liber Pontificalis* in Chapter 28, notes the return of the papal patrimony in the Cottian Alps to the 'jurisdiction of the holy see'.[407] The second reference is both lengthier and more significant and is contained within the pivotal Chapter 35. Paul provides an account of the downfall of Aripert at the hands of Ansprand and his Bavarian allies. This is also the occasion for him to describe Aripert's rule and character. We are told:

> *Hic in diebus quibus regnum tenuit noctu egrediens et hac illacque pergens, quid de eo a singulis civitatibus diceretur, per semet ipsum explorabat, ac diligentur, qualem iustitiam singuli iudices populo suo facerent investigabat. Hic, advenientibus ad se exterarum gentium legatis, vilibus coram eis vestibus sive pelliciis utebatur; utque minus Italiae insidiarentur, numquam eis pretiosa vina vel ceterusque rerum delicias ministrabat.*
> In the days when he held the kingly power, Aripert, going forth at night and proceeding to one place and another, inquired for himself what was said about him by particular cities and diligently investigated what kind

405 *MGH SrL*, p. 171 and *Foulke*, p. 265. See Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, pp. 60-61 for Raginpert and Rotharit. Raginpert, father of Aripert II, had been the Duke of Turin and one may assume that this city's association with Aripert explains his decision to exile Rotharit there.
406 *MGH SrL*, p. 172 and *Foulke*, pp. 265-266.
407 *MGH SrL*, p. 174 and *Foulke*, p. 272. See also Migne, *PL*, cxxviii, col. 929-930 and Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, pp. 90-91.

> of justice the various judges rendered to the people. When the ambassadors of foreign nations came to him, he wore in their presence mean garments and those made of skins, and in order that they should not form designs against Italy he never offered them precious wines nor delicacies of other kinds.[408]

There are ambivalent elements within this judgement of Aripert II.[409] On the one hand, Paul depicts a careful and parsimonious ruler who was diligently interested in justice. He was not only *vir pius* (a religious man), but also *iustitiae amator* (one who loved justice). On the other hand, Aripert II's actions implicitly seem to undermine a positive portrayal. In the first place, as we have seen, Aripert attained power through brutal and violent means targeting the family of Ansprand.[410] Secondly, Aripert's fear of foreign intervention hints at insecurities at the heart of his rule, which were to prove his undoing.[411] By this stage, notwithstanding Aripert's brutality, greed, and suspicion, Paul attempts to provides a picture of a ruler who still loves justice and has the interests of Italy at heart. The picture is not, however, one that is entirely reconciled to his favoured model of kingship.[412] Whilst it may be stretching the evidence to suggest that Aripert was 'the worst of a bad lot', he represents a distinctive, if not problematic figure.[413] There are no notices that record his personal valour, as with both Cunincpert and Liutprand, or indications that he exercised mercy to opponents. Even his decision to allow Liutprand to live un-molested is recorded by Paul as an intervention of *Dei Omnipotentis* (God Almighty).[414] The distinctions become clearer when one considers how Paul depicted Liutprand, who forms the principal narrative thread through the next 23 chapters.

In structural terms the acquisition of kingship by Liutprand marks the pivotal point of Book VI. The figure of Liutprand is a careful construction

408 *MGH SrL*, p. 176 and *Foulke*, p. 278.

409 See Capo, p. 583. Hodgkin thought that Paul's judgement was clouded by Aripert's restitution of the Cottian Alps to the papacy and that this gift had 'blinded the eyes of the wise'. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol.VI, p. 325. Goffart's view, on the other hand, marks Paul's comments as the illustration of 'the reverse of Christian rulership'. *Narrators*, p. 419.

410 *MGH SrL*, pp. 171-172 and *Foulke*, pp. 265-266. See also Paul's reference to Peter of Pavia, a relative of Liutprand, who was 'driven into exile'. *MGH SrL*, p. 186 and *Foulke*, p. 305.

411 See Paul's reference to Corvolus of Friuli who had 'offended the king'. *MGH SrL*, pp. 173-174 and *Foulke*, p. 270. See Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, p. 69.

412 Aripert dies, we are told, attempting to swim the Ticino with as 'much gold as he thought useful to him'. See *MGH SrL*, p. 176 and *Foulke*, p. 278.

413 *Narrators*, p. 419 and Jarnut, *Storia dei Longobardi*, p. 64.

414 *MGH SrL*, p. 172 and *Foulke*, p. 266.

on the part of Paul, whose attributes he lists at the end of the work. At each stage in the narrative, he emphasises the significant elements of his favoured model. To complete the theorised scheme, the attributes are separated and presented sequentially; first, Paul deals with the king's response to conspiracy; secondly, with his religious credentials; and finally, how Liutprand deepens and extends the kingdom's power. This approach suggests that the intention was to conclude the work at Liutprand's death.[415] As we have seen, there are a number of narrative sections on Liutprand. The first mention of Liutprand as king emphasises the legitimacy of his election and the happiness of his father that he has lived to hear of his son's elevation.[416] Subsequently in the second block, Paul recounts how Liutprand personally overcomes a number of murderous plots. He remarks:

> *Fuit autem rex Liutprand vir multae audaciae, ita ut, cum eum duo armigeri eius occidere cogitarent et hoc ei perlatum fuisset in profundissimam silvam cum eis solus ingressus mox evaginatum gladium contra eos tenens, eisdem quia eum occidere cogitaverunt inproperavit, quid ut facere deberent hortatus est.*
> King Liutprand was indeed a man of great boldness so that when two of his armour-bearers thought to kill him and this had been reported to him, he went alone with them into a very deep wood and straightaway holding against them his drawn sword he reproached them because they had planned to slay him and urged them to do it.[417]

Once again we see here Paul's admiration of bravery and martial valour. His conclusion of this chapter with the observation that 'nevertheless he presently pardoned those who confessed even a crime of such wickedness' (*sed tamen confessis mox tantae malitiae culpam pepercit*) underscores the importance of Liutprand's ability in war and his mercy to opponents.[418] The contrasts between, on the one hand, Liutprand and Cunincpert, and on the other, Aripert II, are illustrative of the problematic figure that Aripert embodies.

The final and lengthiest group of notices on Liutprand, which comprises twelve of the last fifteen chapters in the book, deal with a number

415 *MGH SrL*, pp.185-7 and *Foulke*, pp. 306-308. See *Narrators* (2005), p. xxxii
416 *MGH SrL*, p. 177 and *Foulke*, p. 279. See Jarnut, *Storia dei Longobardi*, pp. 80 and 97.
417 *MGH SrL*, p. 178 and *Foulke*, pp. 281-282.
418 *MGH SrL*, pp. 178 and 187 *belli praepotens, delinquentibus Clemens,* and *Foulke*, pp. 282 and 306.

of additional contrasting patterns that complete Paul's carefully constructed presentation.[419] This group supplies evidence for Liutprand's orthodoxy and the manner in which the Lombard kingdom extended its power. Once again Paul notes the restitution of the Cottian Alpine patrimony to the papacy.[420] Subsequently, he also provides a reference that Liutprand, 'hearing that the Saracens had laid waste to Sardinia' (*audiens quod Sarraceni depopulata Sardinia*), arranged the transfer of the bones of St. Augustine to Pavia.[421] This notice is adjacent to Chapter 49, which recounts the defence of the Pope by the Spoletans and the Tuscan Lombards in the face of threats from the Exarch in Ravenna, who foil the 'designs of the Ravenna people to kill the Pope'.[422] The extension of Liutprand's power into both central and southern Italy, together with his alliance with the Franks, is the final component of Paul's kingship model. Paul describes how Liutprand had 'besieged Ravenna and taken Classis and destroyed it' (*Ravennam obsedit, Classem invasit atque destruxit*).[423] In Chapter 51, Liutprand imposes his judgement and authority in a dispute between Pemmo of Friuli (701/712-*c*. 738) and the Patriarch Calixtus, which *inter alia* results in the removal from power of Pemmo and his replacement as *dux* by his eldest son Ratchis.[424] Thereafter, we see Liutprand assisting Charles Martel in Provence and finally imposing his authority on both Spoleto and Benevento.[425] In constructing the narrative with discrete but separated blocks of narrative on Liutprand, a cumulative effect is obtained. Each set of units depicts part of the attributes that Paul lists in his final appreciation of Liutprand at the end of the work. The question remains as to whether or not this figure of Liutprand that Paul has created is based on a careful selection of material. We shall see this in the following consideration of his source use. The use of sources in Book

419 Delogu, *Kingship and the Shaping of the Lombard Body Politic* in Ausenda, Delogu, and Wickham (eds.), *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest*, p. 267.

420 *MGH SrL*, p. 179 and *Foulke*, p. 285. See Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth Century Popes* (*Liber Pontificalis*), p. 5 and n. 6 and Migne, *PL*, Vol. cxxviii, cols. 975-976. See also Hallenbeck, *Pavia and Rome*, p. 21.

421 *MGH SrL*, p.181 and *Foulke*, p.288. See also Stone, *St. Augustine's Bones*.

422 Foulke, p.249; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth Century Popes*, p.11; and Hallenbeck, *Pavia and Rome*, p.21.

423 *MGH SrL*, p.181 and *Foulke*, p.289.

424 *MGH SrL*, p.180 and *Foulke*, pp.294-5 See Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, p.69. Subsequently, Ratchis supplanted Liutprand's nephew Hildeprand as king after the death of Liutprand in 744.

425 Charles Martel: *MGH SrL*, p. 183 and *Foulke*, pp. 296-297; Spoleto: *MGH SrL*, pp. 184-185 and *Foulke*, p. 299, 301, and 302-303; Benevento: *MGH SrL*, pp. 184-185, and *Foulke*, pp. 299-300 and 303-304. For Charles Martel and the Lombard alliance see Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, p. 104 and Hallenbeck, *Pavia and Rome*, pp. 34-36.

VI demonstrates once again the restraints and opportunities available to Paul as he constructs his narrative. The table below sets out the range of sources that he may have used.

Table xli Source Use in Book VI

Chapter	Source	Putative Origin
1-2	Oral sources*	Beneventan/*Acta Sancti Sabini*?
3	Oral sources	Friulan
4	*Liber Pontificalis*/Bede *Chronicon*	Agatho
5	Oral sources, *Liber Pontificalis*, Bede *Chronicon*	Pavia
6	Oral sources	Pavia
9	*Liber Pontificalis*	Benedict II (684-685)
10	*Liber Pontificalis*/Bede- *Chronicon*	John V (685-686)
11-14	*Liber Pontificalis*/Bede- *Chronicon*	Sergius (687-701)
15	Bede- *HE*	
22	Cunincpert's epitaph	Extant funerary epigraphy
16 and 23	Frankish sources	
24	Oral sources	Friulan
27	*Liber Pontificalis*/Beneventan sources	John VI (701-705)
28, 29, 31, 32, and 34	*Liber Pontificalis* and Bede- *Chronicon*	John VII (705-707) and Constantine (708-715)
35	(Opposing) oral sources	Pavia?
36	*Liber Pontificalis*/Bede *Chronicon*	Gregory II (715-731)
37	Oral sources	*LHF*?
39-40	Oral sources	Beneventan/Monte Cassino
41	Bede *Chronicon*	
42	Frankish materials	
43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49	*Liber Pontificalis* and Bede *Chronicon*	Gregory II (715-731)
45	Oral sources	Friulan
50	Oral sources	Beneventan
51-52	Oral sources	Friulan
53-54	Oral sources	Pavia?
55	*Liber Pontificalis*	Gregory III (731-741)
56-57	Oral sources	Beneventan
58	*Vita Baodolino*? Oral sources?	

* Oral sources have no direct evidence of origin in the text.

The table notes Paul's use of both oral sources and written materials such as the *Liber Pontificalis* and Bede's *Chronicon*. Even though Paul does not

explicitly cite his sources, it is quite often possible to identify his use via comparison. In the two exceptions to this, where he does note sources or the origins of his remarks, he does not use them, but simply gives the names of the works. Thus his comments on Arnulf, for instance, refer to a *'liber … eiusdem miracula et vitae abstinentiam continens'* [book containing an account of his miracles and the abstinence of his life].[426] Similarly, in discussing the foundation of the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno, he refers to Autpert's *'volumine quod de hac re conposuit'* [volume which he composed on this subject], but draws no further remarks from the source.[427] His use of the *Liber Pontificalis* reveals that he uses the source verbatim. Both the account in Chapter 36, of the fleet preparation to attack Alexandria by Anastasius III (713-715) and the account of the removal of Anastasius by Theodosius III (715-717) are nearly verbatim.[428] Elsewhere we see Paul build a new context into his materials, particularly with regard to references either to the Lombards or to Liutprand; for example, the material on Gregory II (715-731) and Zacharias (741-752) in the *Liber Pontificalis* offers a number of uncomplimentary remarks on both the king and his people. As we have seen, Paul referred to the restitution of the Cottian Alpine patrimony by Liutprand without comment, whereas the *Liber Pontificalis* adds the detail that such restoration was undertaken only after intervention by the Pope.[429]

A more striking selection is the report of the seizure of Cumae in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Not only do the Lombards 'pretend peace', but also upon the requests of the pope to return the *castrum,* the Lombards 'in their haughtiness [they] would endure neither to hear his advice nor to return it' [*sed illi turgida mente neque monitis audire nec reddere sunt passi*].[430] Paul's account adds the detail that it is the Beneventan Lombards that have captured Cumae, but makes no adverse judgement on their actions.[431] He also reports Liutprand's seizure of Sutri, which was 'restored to the Romans' [*Romanis redditus est*].[432] The *Liber Pontificalis* is more forthright:

426 *Foulke*, p. 268 and *MGH SrL*, p. 170.
427 MGH SrL, p. 179 and *Foulke*, p. 283. See Capo, pp. 586-587.
428 *MGH SrL*, p. 177; *Foulke*, pp. 279-280; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth Century Popes*, p. 6; and *PL*, cxxviii, cols. 975-976.
429 *MGH SrL*, p. 179; *Foulke*, p. 285; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth Century Popes*, p.5; and *PL*, cxxviii, cols. 975-976.
430 Davis, *Lives of the Eighth Century Popes*, p. 7 and *PL*, cxxviii, cols. 977-978.
431 *MGH SrL*, p. 179 and *Foulke*, p. 283.
432 *MGH SrL*, p. 182 and *Foulke*, p. 293.

> *Eodem tempore per XI indict. dolo Longobardis pervasum est Sueriense castellum, quod per centum quadraginta dies ab eisdem Longobardis possessum est. Sed pontificis multis continuis scriptis atque commonitionibus ad regem, missis, quamvis multis datis muneribus saltim omnibus suis nudatum opibus, castrum donationem beatissimis apostolis Petro et Paulo antefatam emittens Longobardorum rex restituit atque donavit.*
> Then in the eleventh indiction (727-728) the *castellum* of Sutri was treacherously seized by the Lombards who occupied it for 140 days. But the pontiff wrote unremittingly to the king of the Lombards to urge him – though he also had to give many gifts and all but strip himself of his entire wealth. So the king restored it and presented it by issuing a donation to the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.[433]

What follows from Paul's use of the *Liber Pontificalis* with regard to Liutprand in particular is that he avoids a number of awkward notices in his source. Where these do not fit his purpose or the impression he wishes to convey, they are omitted. Thus there is no reference to the negotiations and meetings between Liutprand and Pope Zacharias, which forms a noticeably significant central part of the narrative in the *Liber Pontificalis* entry for Zacharias. Also absent are the often difficult and protracted troubles caused by Liutprand's assertion of hegemony in central and southern Italy. As Pohl remarks, confrontation between Lombards and the papacy was difficult for him to represent and clearly its judgement that Liutprand had been 'that treacherous persecutor' was not one that Paul shared.[434]

As noted above, Book VI is marked by a preponderance of shorter chapters. By taking the structural organisation together with Paul's source use, it is clear that there is some connection between shorter chapters that depend upon annalistic sources and lengthier units that contain anecdotal elements. This, however, is not always the case.[435] One encounters lengthier chapters such as the dispute between Ferdulf and Argait, which is set in

433 *PL*, cxxviii, cols. 981-982 and Davis, *Lives of the Eighth Century Popes*, p. 14.

434 Pohl, *Das Papsttum und die Langobarden*, in Becher and Jarnut (eds.), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751*, p. 145, '*Die verhängnisvolle Konfrontation darzustellen, wäre ihm wohl schwergefallen*'. See also, Balzaretti, *Masculine Authority and State Identity* in Pohl and Erhart, *Die Langobarden*, p. 361. 'Paul completely ignored the *Liber Pontificalis* in his account of Liutprand's reign', but it is fairer to suggest that Paul picked favourable elements alone. See Davis, *Lives of the Eighth Century Popes*, p. 42 and *PL*, cxviii, cols. 1055-1056.

435 Out of the 18 chapters (comprising 267 lines or 31 percent) which may use oral traditions (i.e. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 35, 37, 39, 40, 45, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, and 58), five have 20 lines or more, eight less than ten lines, and four less than five lines. On the other hand, of those that make use of the *Liber Pontificalis* or Bede's *Chronicon* (comprising 243 lines or 43 percent) (i.e. 4, 5, 9, 10, 11,

Paul's home province of Friuli and is redolent of anecdotal elements that Paul frequently introduces into his work.[436] Chapter 24, in which this account is placed, is the second lengthiest chapter in Book VI and initiates three chapters that deal with Friulan matters.[437] Out of the three it is evident that this chapter is reliant upon oral traditions that must have remained current either generally in Friuli or at least attached to individuals connected to an event that marked a cataclysm for the local elite. Whilst Paul does not provide a direct clue as to the origins of his detailed account, the short distance in time between the events depicted and Paul's own lifetime suggest that he had access to Friulan traditions that explained the downfall and death of Ferdulf and the assumption of ducal power by Pemmo, the father of Ratchis. The nature of the account with the use of direct speech and Paul's editorial remarks indicate that Paul had transformed his oral sources into a coherent narrative with a prevailing discourse. With the deaths of both Ferdulf and Argait at the hands of the Slavs explained, Paul comments:

> *Tantique ibi viri fortes per contentionis malum et inprovidentiam debellati sunt, quanti per unam concordiam et salubre consilium multa milia sternere aemulorum.*
> And there so great a number of brave men were vanquished by the wickedness and thoughtlessness of dissension as could with unity and wholesome counsel overthrow many thousands of their enemies.[438]

To sum up, Paul's use of sources in Book VI is marked by a combination of oral traditions, annalistic materials, and potentially hostile secondary works. Whilst this would not appear to be an entirely comfortable mix, Paul manages nevertheless to fashion a coherent whole, in which his approach to Lombard kingship remains the central concern.

Having briefly considered Paul's use of sources in Book VI, it remains to consider whether or not Book VI is incomplete or simply lacking a final edit. Connected to this issue is Paul's structural choices, which have been sketched above, but also his thematic *leitmotif* and in particular his treatment of Liutprand and the latter's interactions with Francia. He forms in this

12, 13, 14, 15, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, and 55), three have over 20 lines, sixteen less than ten lines, and nine, five lines or less.

436 *MGH SrL*, pp. 172-173 and *Foulke*, pp. 266-270.

437 This accords with Curta's view (recognised elsewhere) that Paul alternated 'tales with historical reports' which, according to Curta, invited his audience to pause and listen closely. See Curta, *Slavs in Fredegar and Paul the Deacon*, p. 146. See *Narrators*, pp. 427-428.

438 *MGH SrL*, p. 173 and *Foulke*, pp. 269-270.

context a pre-Carolingian model of good rulership. References to Francia in Book VI serve to connect Liutprand to this model that is subsequently embodied by Charlemagne, and to emphasise his fraternal relations with the new dynasty about to supplant the Merovingians. Thus in VI.53 Paul tells us:

> *Circa haec tempora Carolus princeps Francorum Pipinum suum filium ad Liutprandum direxit ut eius iuxta morem capillum susciperat. Qui eius caesariem incidens, ei pater effectus est multisque eum ditatum regiis muneribus genitori remisit.*
> About these times Charles the ruler of the Franks dispatched his son Pepin to Liutprand that the latter should take his hair according to custom. And the king, cutting his hair became a father to him and sent him back to his father enriched with many royal gifts.[439]

The establishment of this adoption is significant if, following Bartlett, we are to believe that the function of the story is to emphasise not only a particular political affiliation, but also a symbolic connection that points to the superiority of Liutprand, who cuts the hair of Pepin. One might suggest that Paul has linked Liutprand to the future success of Pepin and his son Charlemagne and by this act and through a patronal relationship linked his kingship model with theirs.[440] In more concrete terms, Paul also notes Liutprand's assistance to Charles Martel in his defeat of 'Saracens' in Provence.[441] It is both interesting and significant that no extant Frankish source refers to the alliance or the assistance of the Lombard king. These references serve to confirm the elements in Paul's extended appreciation of Liutprand, which concludes the work. One such element emphasises his care always to keep peace with the Franks. The final chapter of Book VI and the work itself list the attributes of Liutprand:

> *Fuit autem vir multae sapientiae, consilio sagax, pius admodum et pacis amator, belli praepotens, delinquentibus clemens, castus, pudicus, orator*

439 *MGH SrL*, p. 183 and *Foulke*, p. 296. Foulke suggests 'take his hair', but 'do his hair' may be more appropriate as the action described. As Capo notes, the absence of reference to this in Frankish sources is significant. See Capo, p. 599. See also Bartlett, *Symbolic Meanings of Hair*, pp. 48-49.
440 Bartlett, *Symbolic Meanings of Hair*, p. 49. Goffart suggests that the whole episode is 'ominous' and indicative of a 'troubled future'. See *Narrators*, pp. 420-421.
441 *MGH SrL*, pp. 11 and 183 and *Foulke*, pp. 296-297. See also Capo, pp. 599-600 and Pighi, *Versus de Verona*, p. 147.

> *pervigil, elemosinis largus, litterarum quidam ignarus, sed philosophus aequandus, nutritor Gentis, legum augmentator. Hic initio regni sui Baioariorum plurima castra cepit, plus semper orationibus quam armis fideus, maxima semper cura Francorum Avarumque pacem custodiens.*
> He was indeed a man of much wisdom, very religious and a lover of peace, shrewd in counsel, powerful in war, merciful to offenders, chaste, modest, prayerful in the night watches, generous in charities, ignorant of letters indeed, yet worthy to be likened to philosophers, a supporter of his people, an increaser of the laws. At the beginning of his reign he took very many fortresses of the Bavarians. He relied always upon prayers than upon arms and always with the greatest care kept peace with the Franks and the Avars.[442]

As the lengthiest and most fulsome epitaph of any Lombard king in the *Historia Langobardorum,* this passage and chapter mark a point of culmination in a number of ways. In structural terms, Book VI is organised in such a way as to point to this moment. Liutprand exemplifies Paul's favoured model completely, in a way that neither Cunincpert in Book VI or much less Alboin or Agilulf fully maintain in Books II or IV respectively. Paul's use of staged notices on Liutprand points toward his final judgement. Additionally, it also provides a clue to Paul's intentions with regard to whether or not the work is meant to end here. Much has been made of one earlier incidental reference that seems to imply he intended to continue the work. In the final chapter he remarks with regard to Baodolinus: *'Cuius nos aliquid miraculum quod posteriori tempore gestum est in loco proprio ponemus'* [A certain miracle of his which was performed at a later time we will put in its proper place].[443] This may not necessarily indicate that further material on Baodolinus would have been included in an extended work, and as McKitterick remarks, could have just as easily indicated an intention to compose a Life of Baodolinus.[444]

Many historians nevertheless think the work is not finished. The structure of Book VI provides contrary indications. In contrast to previous books, Book VI concludes with the death of a major protagonist of the whole work. This is not reproduced in any of the previous books, which are bridged by material. Even Goffart, who postulates unwritten Books VII and VIII, notes

442 *MGH SrL*, p. 186 and *Foulke*, p. 306. Paul's depiction of Liutprand's qualities anticipates Einhard's description of Charlemagne. See *Vita Karoli Imperatoris*, Pertz (ed.), *MGH Scriptores rerum Sangallensium*, pp. 456 and 458 and Thorpe (ed. and trans.), *Einhard and Nottker the Stammerer*, pp. 78-79 and 81.
443 *MGH SrL*, p. 186 and *Foulke*, p. 306.
444 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon and the Franks*, p. 327.

that it is 'odd' that Book VI 'survives as a completed book' – that is, lacking a bridging point.[445] Whilst the reference to deeds of the future kings Ratchis and Aistulf towards the end of Book VI is interesting, Paul does not indicate that these references are meant to presage further detail when both of these brothers become kings of the Lombards. Even the absence of either a preface or 'conclusion' need not alter the perception formed from the narrative structures that Paul intended to end his work at this point. As we saw in Chapter 2, the later view of Erchempert – that Paul could not bear to bring his work beyond 744 – supplements the impression that the work was meant to conclude where it does.[446] In this regard the consistent application of the narrative's concerns with the extension of the power of the Lombard kingdom and the end of internal dissension finds a natural end-point in the rule and death of Liutprand. This in turn negates the idea that the work is designed to instruct Grimoald III of Benevento (788-806) or 'destined … for his eyes' because there is no evidence within the text of either an attempt to promote Benevento or to highlight its continued independence in the face of the new realities in Italy post-774.[447] The structural message is clear. Paul intended to end his work at this point with the implication that Benevento had been definitively brought into the orbit of the Lombard king. McKitterick is clearly correct to indicate that the book is 'undoubtedly complete'.[448] In the context of the work as a whole, however, it is evident that an end with the death of Liutprand, the pinnacle of Lombard kingship, the *nutritor gentis* of the Lombards, was not only a natural conclusion, but one that Paul designed in the first place.

445 *Narrators*, p. 414.
446 *MGH SrL*, p. 234, Perry, *Erchempert's History of the Lombards of Benevento*, p. 121, *Narrators*, p. 344 and Giese, *Non felicitatem set miseriam*, pp. 90-91.
447 *Narrators*, p. 347.
448 McKitterick, *Paul the Deacon and the Franks*, p. 327. See also *MGH SrL*, p. 25.

5 Conclusion

As part of his memorable first chapter in Book I of the *Historia Langobardorum,* Paul observes:

> *Pari etiam modo ex Winnilorum, hoc est Langobardorum gens, quae postea in Italia feliciter regnavit, a Germanorum populis originem ducens, licet at alias causae egressionis eorum asseverentur, ab insula quae Scadinavia dicitur adventavit.*
> In like manner also the race of Winnili, that is of Langobards, which afterwards ruled prosperously in Italy, deducing its origins from the German peoples, came from the island which is called *Scadinavia*, although other causes of their emigration are also alleged.[1]

Whether the work succeeds in demonstrating that the Lombards did indeed *in Italia feliciter regnaverunt* remains an open question and one that is not entirely resolved by a careful reading of the entire work or by the content of the narrative. Throughout this study, we've considered not only Paul's statements, but also his structural arrangements.

The main purpose of this study has been to consider the narrative arrangements of Paul's four prose narratives. This has required detailed description of the texts as they stand and the components or building blocks that Paul used to create his works. Paul's progress as a writer and his ability to produce works to order is charted through these narratives. In the first of these, the *Historia Romana*, we see a direct patronal relationship with Adelperga, wife of Arichis II of Benevento and daughter of Desiderius, and how this connection fashioned Paul's compositional agenda. The first ten books of the *Historia Romana*, whilst predominantly the work of Eutropius, include useful and interesting interpolations on Paul's part. The lightness of his touch when editing the original structure that allowed him not only to link the text to the Judaeo-Christian tradition, but also to apply further information and interpolations from Mediterranean history, was a noticeable feature of this part of the work. More significant, however, as an example of the independence of his thought and his development as a writer are the additional six books he grafted onto the Eutropian core. Here we see a situation that is repeated throughout all four works. Paul 'writes' to his available material: in other words, he is guided by what he has at

1 *MGH SrL*, p. 48 and *Foulke*, pp. 2-3.

hand. His ability to manage both a varied panorama of subject matter and a plethora of sources is signalled by these six books for the first time. Judgements of Paul's compositional strategy have over-emphasised his dependence upon the sources at the expense of his own words. Whilst there are instances where Paul merely abbreviates or simplifies his material, there are frequent examples in the text of his own choices in either amplifying or freely borrowing from his original sources. This authorial strategy remains a key component of Paul's methods in all his subsequent works.

Both the *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni* and the *Gesta Episcopum Mettensium* that follows are shorter works, but no less interesting in what their organisation and structures tell us about Paul's own responses to the past. Whilst one cannot pinpoint an exact compositional date for the *Vita*, it is evident that it was written at some time before the *Historia Langobardorum,* in which it is mentioned. It represents for Paul a tightly focused work on the life and works of Gregory the Great. This book argues that its structures operate as a work divided into three parts rather than one which revolves around an un-balanced *chiasmus* point upon Gregory's election to the papacy. Paul's comments on Gregory in the *Historia Langobardorum* and his use of Gregory's letters, the *Registrum Epistolarum,* both for the *Historia Langobardorum* and the *Collectio Pauli* he undertook for Adalhard of Corbie, reveal two important points. The first is Paul's interest in the life and career of Gregory, an admiration sustained beyond this short narrative; and the second, his integration into the *Historia Langobardorum* of letters from the *Registrum* was a significant alteration to his methods, perhaps influenced by his contact with Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*.

In some respects the *Gesta Episcopum Mettensium* was a trickier commission for Paul. Unlike the *Vita* or the *Historia Langobardorum,* it is possible to designate both a patron and a date of composition for the work. Slightly longer by 600 words than the *Vita,* scholars have considered it at greater length. This study suggests a structure to the *Gesta* that is linked to four principal narrative moments in the text, undoubtedly connected to the abundance of Paul's source materials at hand. Thus, rather than the somewhat speculative Goffartian schema based upon a reading of the books of Genesis, the *Gesta* is ordered as an account of a bishopric, from foundation to survival, and from renewal to reform. We see Paul's ability not only to write to order, but also to manage his source materials to produce a work that is more than simply a catalogue of the bishops of Metz.

With his final and lengthiest work, the *Historia Langobardorum*, we see Paul's mature ability to fashion a narrative free from any stated or direct patronal relationship. One might suggest that this work more than any other

reveals Paul's own interests and his reactions to the situation on the ground that he describes. What has been demonstrated through a careful analysis of each of the six books in the *Historia Langobardorum* is that there is a structure and a design. It has been emphasised in this respect that it is what Paul has said together with the way in which he structures his words that provides a key to understanding the work as a whole. Inevitably, identifying a core objective with a work of this length and complexity is fundamentally difficult. This study commenced with the starting point of the structures within each of the books themselves through the organisation of discrete passages or chapters. Whilst it is not possible to ascribe the division of these chapters to Paul himself, it is nonetheless evident that from our earliest manuscript sources there is both security in the division of the work into books and the books into chapters.

This has formed the foundation of the structural comment on the *Historia Langobardorum* and has allowed this book to demonstrate that Paul's main concern was to delineate the development of an independent model of Lombard kingship. Paul approved of kings rich in wisdom, justice, and mercy who were victorious in conflict and who overcame internal dissensions and revolts. Thus we see that the Lombard kings Alboin, Authari, Agilulf, Perctarit, Cunincpert, and finally Liutprand represent in part or in whole the form of effective rulership that Paul favoured. At the same time, it is clear that there are Lombard kings that form somewhat more problematic figures for Paul, notably Rothari and Grimoald. The latter, in particular, it has been argued, is not the central figure of the work as Goffart thought. Rather, the culmination of the work with the death of Liutprand in 744 and the eulogistic final chapter demonstrate that Liutprand's kingship was the model that Paul most favoured. In this sense it is clear that Paul had no intention to continue the work beyond Liutprand's death in 744.

Whilst the main purpose of the work and this study is to consider the narrative structures of his works, we have also seen in the use of his sources how Paul continues to develop as an author. In his final work, the *Historia Langobardorum*, more than any previous work, his ability to present oral traditions and merge these with written sources is evidence of his methods. At these points, one forms the impression that Paul, now 'cut loose' from the strictures of written materials, is able to formulate and recount the stories that no doubt had activated his first interest and continued to delight and interest his audiences. Unforgettable episodes such as the revenge of Rosamunda, the betrothal of Authari and Theodolinda, and the combat of Cunincpert and Alahis are indicative of his ability to work with oral traditions and his mastery in telling a good story. It is tempting to see the

extensive manuscript tradition of the *Historia Langobardorum* as testament to the success of the work as both a repository of tradition and a serious work of history. Clearly, from the remarks of both Andrew of Bergamo and Erchempert of Benevento in their works, written towards the end of the ninth century, *'Paulo, viro philosopho'* as Andrew termed him, retained a vital influence upon historical traditions in Italy.[2]

In the careful consideration of the 'building-blocks' of Paul's narratives, this book has undercut modern perceptions of Paul's agendas. Rather than satisfying our modern complexities projected onto his words, we can now see that there is both a simplicity and a coherence at the heart of his material. In this respect, one does not discover that Paul is either pro-Lombard or pro-Frank *per se,* but instead that he has a rich and varied response to the experiences and ideas that he encountered. An analysis of the shape and structures of his narratives has restored Paul as an individual writer rather than an individual who embodies the end of one particular form of history-writing and creation. Paul's *Historia Langobardorum,* more than any other of his narrative works, reveals a sense of his personality and his own responses to events and individuals. We see his personal delight and curiosity, for instance, in measuring his own shadow in Francia, his pleasure in digression and anecdote, his own response to individuals, and his Friulan *campanilismo*. He created from the mosaic of other histories, chronicles, and traditions that he used a rich and fascinating work, that is uniquely his own. Twelve hundred years after Paul the Deacon's death, his words and lively passages still shape and determine our impressions of the *Langobardorum gens* and their history.

2 *MGH SrL*, p. 221. For Andrew of Bergamo, see Berto, *Testi storici*, pp. xx-xxxiii; and for Erchempert see Giese, *Non felicitatem set miseriam*, pp. 83-135 and Perry, *Erchempert's History of the Lombards of Benevento*.

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